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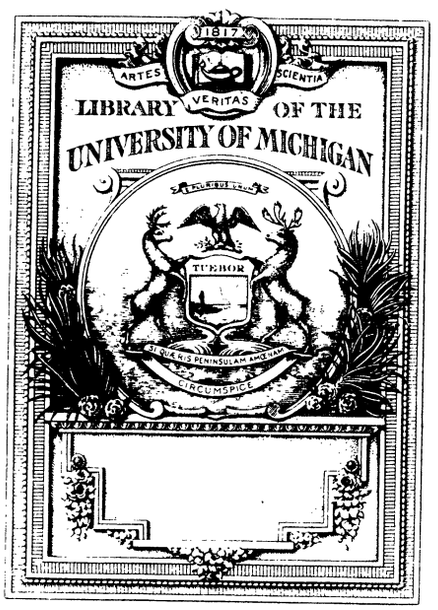

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HISTORY OF AMERICA

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OF

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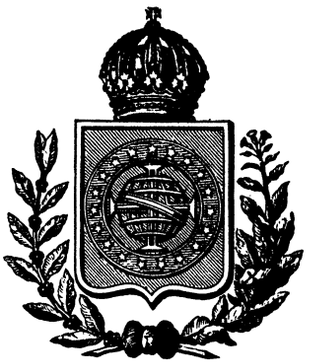

NARRATIVE AND CRITICAL

HISTORY OF AMERICA

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VOL. VIII. — PART II.

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CHAPTER V.

COLONIAL HISTORY OF SOUTH AMERICA, AND THE WARS OF INDEPENDENCE.

BY CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, C. B.

FOR more than two centuries and a half the whole of South America, except Brazil, settled down under the colonial government of Spain, and during the greater part of that time this vast territory was under the rule of the viceroys of Peru residing at Lima. The impossibility of conducting an efficient administration from such a centre, which was separated from its dependent parts by many hundreds of miles of mountains, deserts, and forests, at once became apparent. Courts of justice called *Audiencias* were, therefore, established in the distant provinces, and their presidents, sometimes with the title of captains-general, had charge of the executive under the orders of the viceroys. The *Audiencia* of Charcas (the modern Bolivia) was established in 1559. Chile was ruled by captains-general, and an *Audiencia* was established at Santiago in 1568. In New Grenada the president of the *Audiencia*, created in 1564, was also captain-general. The *Audiencia* of Quito, also with its president as captain-general, dated from 1542; and Venezuela was under a captain-general. Buenos Ayres was ruled by a governor, who was virtually independent of the viceroy; and Brazil was under governors during the time that Portugal was subject to Spain, from 1582 to 1640, and became a viceroyalty when the mother country regained her independence.

The colonial policy of Spain was mainly directed to the benefit of the mother country, and the colonies were looked upon as sources of revenue and profit. The first duty of the viceroy of Peru was to transmit treasure to Spain, and to force Spanish goods on the colonists. There was an absolute monopoly. No manufactured goods were allowed to be imported into the colonies except from Spanish ports; and all industries were discouraged or prohibited which were supposed to compete, directly or indirectly, with Spanish interests. Forced labor, under humane restrictions which were systematically evaded, prevailed in so aggravated a form that the population rapidly decreased. It is true that, so long as their selfish policy was enforced, the home government displayed anxiety to promote the welfare both of the colonists and the aborigines, and the same disposition was generally shown by the great noblemen who went to Peru as viceroys. But

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the two things were incompatible. The viceroys governed on the principles laid down by Don Francisco de Toledo, and his rules and ordinances formed the basis of their administration. The native chiefs, called *caciques*, were hereditary, had certain privileges, and exercised magisterial functions over the Indians. There were also Spanish officials with the title of Protectors of the Indians. The rules for the *mitta*, or forced service in mines and factories, were humane, and the class of *Mamaconas*, or domestic servants, was declared to be free. But in practice the provisions intended for the protection of the Indians were disregarded; and their condition was worse than that of the negro slaves who were largely imported to cultivate the estates in the coast valleys of Peru. A zealous compliance with the demand for treasure and for exclusive privileges to Spanish traders could not coexist with an enforcement of the humane rules intended for the protection of the colonists and aborigines. The viceroys were thus placed in a difficulty which was strongly felt by the more enlightened among them, but no effectual remedy was possible.

The opening of the seventeenth century found the Marquis of Salinas ruling as viceroy. When he was removed to Mexico, his successor, the Conde de Monterey, arrived at Lima in 1604, but died after a residence of little over a year, and from 1607 to 1615 the viceroyalty was filled by one of those well-intentioned noblemen who did his best to reconcile his orders from Spain with justice and Christian charity. Of course, the efforts of Don Juan de Mendoza y Luna, Marquis de Montes Claros, were fruitless; but the elaborate report which he drew up for the information of his successor shows that he endeavored to check the irregularities which rendered the law null and void. He acknowledged his own debt, and that of all succeeding viceroys, to the code of ordinances left them by Francisco de Toledo. "Indeed," he declared, "we are all disciples of that great master; at least, I willingly confess it." The Spaniards of the conquest desired complete mastery over the persons of the natives, and the right to buy, sell, and use them as slaves. The *Tasos* or ordinances of the Viceroy Toledo were intended to prevent this abuse. The tribute was fixed, while a seventh part of the able-bodied laborers of each village might be hired in turn. This was called the *mitta;* and provisions were enacted to prevent these laborers from being taken more than a certain fixed distance from their homes, and to regulate their payment and treatment. The Marquis of Montes Claros further enacted, in 1609, that the *mitta* should not apply to coca plantations where the climate is unhealthy, or to vine and sugar estates on the coast, which were to be worked by negro labor. The *Yanaconas* were a class existing in the time of the Incas, who were in an exceptional position. They were domiciled in the houses of their masters, who found them in food and clothing, paid their tribute, and gave them a piece of land to cultivate in exchange for their services. But to prevent this from degenerating into slavery, a decree of 1601 ordered that they should be free to leave their masters and take service elsewhere on the same conditions. With regard

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to the Spanish colonists, the Marquis of Montes Claros reported that there was much noble blood among the citizens, but that there was still a licentious set of vagabonds loose over the country, and calling themselves soldiers, who formed a very dangerous class. The silver mines, to which the chief attention of the government was directed, were at Potosi, Oruro, Vilcabamba, and Castro-Vireyna; gold was obtained from Caravaya, and quicksilver from Huancavelica.

From 1569 to 1784, a period of 215 years, the administrative divisions of Peru consisted of five bishoprics or *Obispados*, which were subdivided into forty-seven *Corregimientos*, each under a corregidor, or civil governor.

The great noblemen who filled the vice-regal office had many persons of rank in their train, and the court at Lima was often gay and brilliant. The viceroys were generally statesmen of experience, sometimes of cultivated tastes. They brought out with them very excellent copies of old masters to adorn the churches, and frequently enriched the university and convent libraries with valuable presents. The Marquis of Montes Claros was succeeded by Don Francisco de Borja y Aragon, a grandson of that famous Duke of Gandia who became third general of the Jesuits and was eventually canonized. Don Francisco was Prince of Squillace in Italy by right of his wife, and was descended from the royal house of Aragon. He was only thirty-two years of age when he entered Lima as viceroy in December, 1615. The Prince of Squillace was a poet and a scholar. Mr. Ticknor refers to his sonnets and madrigals with appreciative praise, although his more ambitious work on the Aragonese conquest of Naples was not so successful. At Lima the vice-regal poet assembled learned and accomplished men at his palace, and held discussions on literary and scientific subjects. He took interest in the encouragement of education and in expeditions of discovery, rather than in the administrative details of his government. Under his auspices a college for noble Indians, called San Borja, was founded at Cuzco, and another at Lima; and he established the first settlement on the river Marañon, beyond the Pongo de Manseriche, in 1619, which was named Borja in his honor. He also sent an expedition to survey the coasts of Tierra del Fuego in the same year, and the islets southeast of Cape Horn were named Diego Ramirez, in honor of the chief pilot. On the other hand, the Prince of Squillace was no friend to the unfortunate victims of the *mitta*, which was enforced in his time with illegal rigor. Over two thousand Indians were obliged to labor in the quicksilver mines of Huancavelica, fourteen hundred at the silver mine of Castro-Vireyna; while the demand for labor was increased by the discovery of the rich silver mine of San Antonio de Squillace, near Puno. The prince ordered the war with the Araucanians in Chile to be defensive only, thus reducing the heavy drain on the finances, while he placed the fleet at Callao on an efficient footing. He so worked the mines, and the *alcabala* or excise duties, that he raised a revenue of 2,250,000 ducats, the expenditure being 1,200,000 ducats, thus transmitting to Spain an annual surplus of a million ducats.

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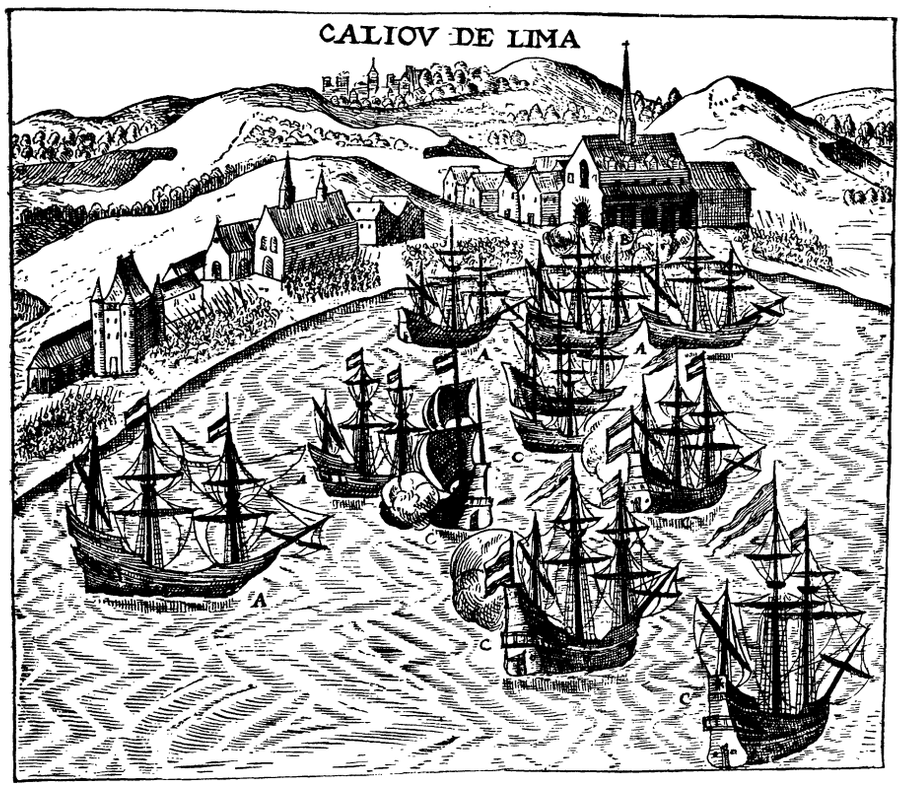
Without waiting for his successor, the Prince of Squillace left the government in charge of the senior judge, and returned to Spain on the last day of 1621. He still had many years of an honored and prosperous life before him, dying at Madrid in 1658, at the age of seventy-six.

Don Diego Fernandez de Cordova, the first Marquis of Guadalcazar, was viceroy of Mexico; but the death of his German wife made him desirous of change, and he was appointed to succeed the Prince of Squillace in Peru.



CALLAO.*

He arrived at Lima in July, 1622, with his two fair daughters, and his nephew Don Luis as captain of his guard. The marquis was a very diligent administrator, and his minutes and despatches have been collected in three large manuscript volumes. He had to make provision for the Araucanian war, the repulse of piratical attacks, and the suppression of disturbances at the mines of Potosi. He adopted the policy of his predecessor as regards Chile, sending his nephew, as captain-general, to establish a strictly

* [From Hulsius, *Sammlung*, xvii., being the *Reiss und Schiffart* of Spilbergen (Franckfort am Mayn, 1620). There is a later view of the anchorage and town in Frezier's *Voyages* (1713). Cf. plan of Callao in Coreal's *Voyage*, in the *Allg. Hist. der Reisen* (Leipzig, 1751), vol. ix. 416; and in the *Relation of the Earthquake at Lima* (London, 1748); and a later view in W. B. Stevenson's *Twenty Years' Residence in South America* (London, 1825). — ED.]

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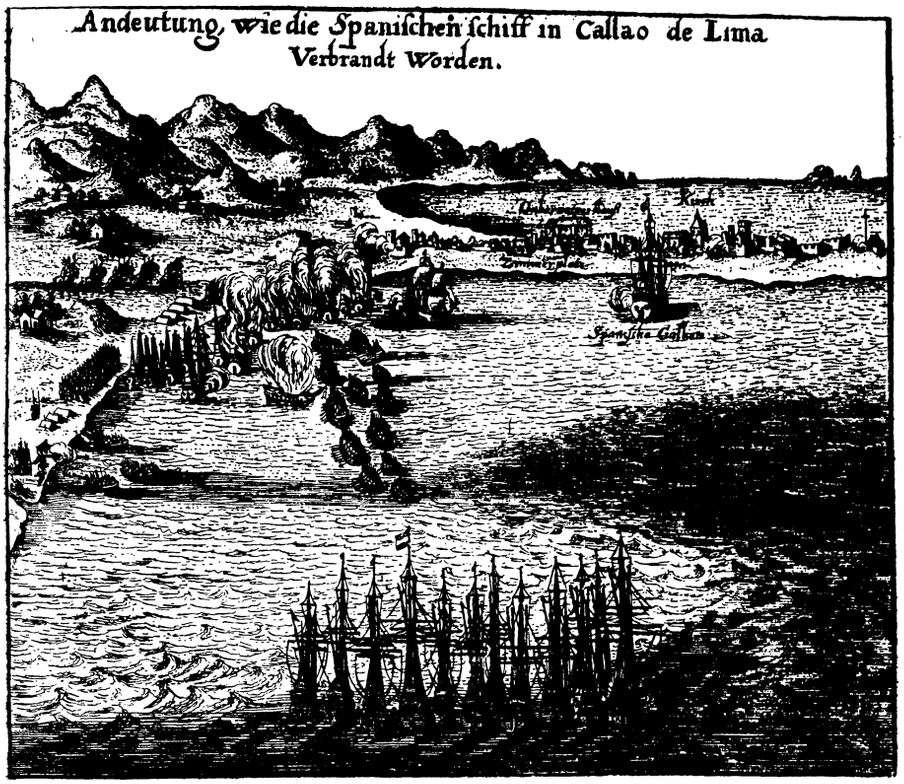
defensive system of tactics. The twelve years' truce between Spain and the Netherlands expired in 1621, and fleets were equipped by the States-General to attack the colonies in South America. Piete Heyn captured a treasure fleet, and brought home an immense sum of money; while a powerful fleet under Jacob l'Heremite was sent to the Pacific. In May, 1624, the Dutch ships appeared off Callao, a few days after the treasure ships had sailed for Panama. The invaders occupied the island of San Lorenzo, where their admiral died, and, after making unsuccessful attacks on Callao, Pisco, and Guayaquil, the attempt was given up, and the hostile squadron



From Gottfriedt's *Newe Welt*, 1655.

left the coast. This Dutch expedition may be looked upon as the precursor of those predatory voyages which were the natural outcome of the Spanish monopoly, and the forerunners of the occupation of most of the West Indian Islands by powers opposed to the exclusive policy of Spain.

The troubles at the mines of Potosi originated in the rancorous greed of speculators. The miners were divided into hostile factions called Vascongados and Vicuñas; there were incessant bloody encounters and murders, while neither the authority of the officials nor the exhortations of priests could appease their rancor or put down the riots. It was only by a compromise that a truce was established by the viceroy's officials in 1625.

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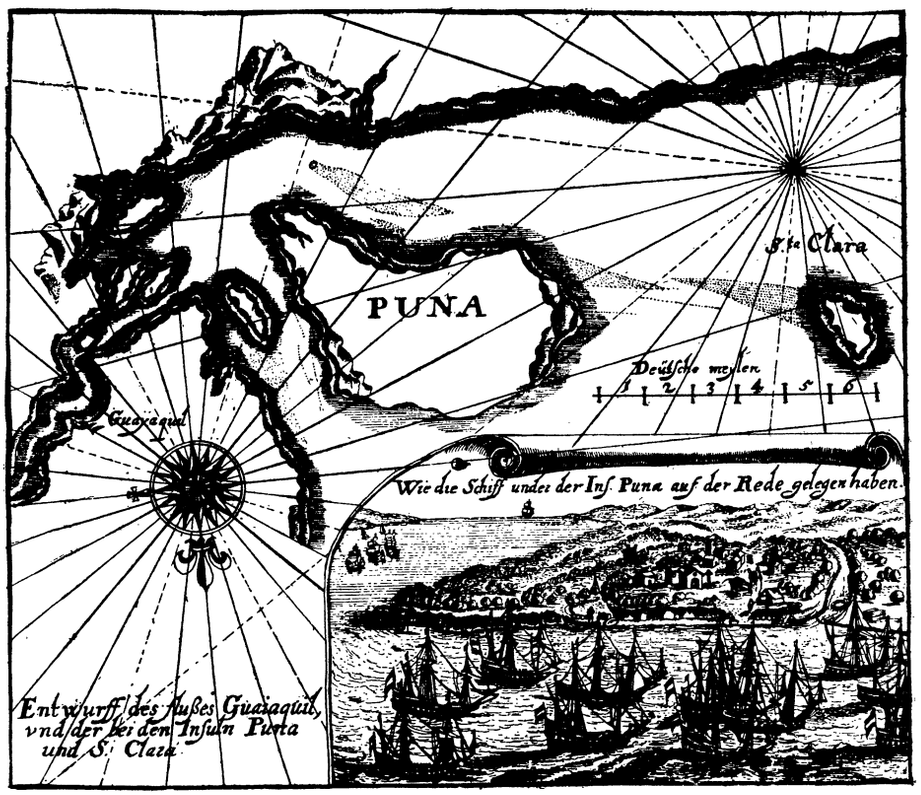
It is much to the credit of the Marquis of Guadalcazar that he was strongly opposed to the odious proceedings of the Inquisition which had been established at Lima. Although his power was not sufficient to prevent the *autos* entirely, he discountenanced those cruel exhibitions, and only one took place during his government, when three victims to priestly fanaticism suffered in the great square of Cuzco. The marquis delivered up charge to his successor and returned to Spain in January, 1629.

Don Luis Geronimo de Cabrera, Count of Chinchon, the next viceroy, was an enlightened and able statesman of high rank, descended from an


PUNA
S.te Clara
Deütsche meylen
Guayaquil
Wie die Schiff under der Inſ. Puna auf der Rede gelegen haben.
Entwurff des Fluſſes Guaiaquil, vnd der bei den Inſuln Puna und S. Clara

From Gottfriedt's *Newe Welt*, 1655, p. 595.

ancient Catalonian family. Spain was utterly impoverished, and when the count left Cadiz in August, 1628, the government was clamoring for money from the Indies. Officers who received new appointments were to refund half their first year's pay, voluntary contributions were called for, and the excise duties were increased. Thus the new viceroy, who was anxious to govern well and to improve the condition of the people, was placed in a most trying position. His difficulties were increased by the rumors of the approach of hostile Dutch fleets, which obliged him to incur expenditure on the fortifications of Callao and the defences of the Chilian ports. The new

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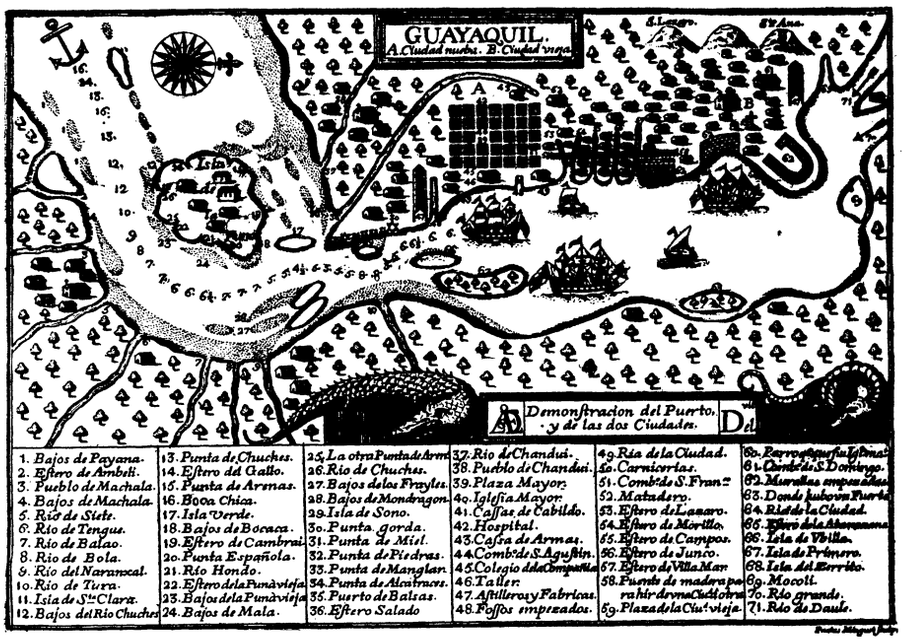
captain-general of Chile, Don Francisco Lasso de la Vega, an officer who had served with distinction in the Low Countries, came out with the Count of Chinchon. He conducted the defensive war with the Araucanians from 1629 to 1639, when he was succeeded by the Marquis de Baydes. In 1647 Baydes made the first peace with the Araucanian Indians, which was solemnly ratified.

Notwithstanding his financial difficulties, the Count of Chinchon was a vigilant protector of the Indians. In 1633 he issued fresh regulations respecting forced service; he ordered that journeys to and from the mines should be paid for by the employers; and he reduced the numbers of the *mitta* for the mines of Potosi. These measures, adopted in the face of


GUAYAQUIL.
A. Ciudad nueva. B. Ciudad vieja.
Demonstracion del Puerto, y de las dos Ciudades.
1. Bajos de Payana.
2. Estero de Ambuli.
3. Pueblo de Machala.
4. Bajos de Machala.
5. Rio de Siete.
6. Rio de Tengue.
7. Rio de Balao.
8. Rio de Bola.
9. Rio del Naranjal.
10. Rio de Tura.
11. Isla de Sta Clara.
12. Bajos del Rio Chuches
13. Punta de Chuches.
14. Estero del Gallo.
15. Punta de Armas.
16. Boca Chica.
17. Isla Verde.
18. Bajos de Bocaca.
19. Estero de Cambrai.
20. Punta Española.
21. Rio Hondo.
22. Estero de la Punta vieja.
23. Bajos de la Punta vieja
24. Bajos de Mala.
25. La otra Punta de Arm
26. Rio de Chuches.
27. Bajos de los Frayles.
28. Bajos de Mondragon.
29. Isla de Sono.
30. Punta gorda.
31. Punta de Miel.
32. Punta de Piedras.
33. Punta de Manglar.
34. Punta de Alcatraces.
35. Puerto de Balzas.
36. Estero Salado
37. Rio de Chandui.
38. Pueblo de Chandui.
39. Plaza Mayor.
40. Iglesia Mayor.
41. Casas de Cabildo.
42. Hospital.
43. Casa de Armas.
44. Comb.a de S. Agustin.
45. Colegio de la Compañia
46. Taller.
47. Astillero y Fabricas.
48. Fossos empezados.
49. Ria de la Ciudad.
50. Carniceria.
51. Comb.a de S. Fran.co
52. Matadero.
53. Estero de Lazaro.
54. Estero de Morillo.
55. Estero de Campos.
56. Estero de Junco.
57. Estero de Villa Mar
58. Puente de madera para ir de una Ciud.d a otra
59. Plaza de la Ciud.d vieja.
60. Parroquia de la Iglesia
61. Comb.a de S. Domingo.
62. Murallas empezadas
63. Donde hubo un Fuerte
64. Rio de la Ciudad.
65. Estero de la Almenara
66. Isla de Vbilla.
67. Isla de Prieto.
68. Isla del Berrido.
69. Mocoli.
70. Rio grande.
71. Rio de Daule.

From the *Compendio historico de la Provincia . . . y puerto de Guayaquil, por Dionysio de Alcedo y Herrera* (Madrid, 1741).

incessant demands from home for more silver, redound to his credit. But he was not so firm in discountenancing the atrocities of the Inquisition. Three *autos-da-fé* were celebrated during his viceroyalty, at which upwards of a hundred persons, including several of wealth and position, were sacrificed to the insatiable bigotry of the priests. The Indian population was, however, always protected from this form of persecution, as being in the position of catechumens.

An insurrection among the Indians of Lake Titicaca was suppressed after some hard fighting in 1634, the viceroy declaring that it was caused by the tyranny and injustice of the Spaniards, who illegally forced the people to work without pay, and seized their harvests. But the most important

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event during the viceroyalty of the Count of Chinchon was the discovery of the febrifuge virtues of Peruvian bark. The first wife of the count was the Lady Ana de Osorio, daughter of the Marquis of Astorga, but she died before he became viceroy. Doña Francisca Henriquez de Ribera, his second wife, accompanied him to Peru, and was attacked at Lima in 1638 by a tertian fever. The news of the illness of the countess reached Don Francisco Lopez de Cañizares, who was then corregidor of Loxa, and who had become acquainted with the febrifuge qualities of the bark. He sent a parcel of it

From Ovale's *Regno de Chile* (Rome, 1648).

to the vice-queen, and the new remedy, administered by her physician Don Juan de Vega, effected a rapid and complete cure. The Countess of Chinchon left Peru in 1639, but she died at Cartagena on the passage home. The remedy was known as countess's bark, and afterwards as Jesuit's bark, and the genus of plants which produces it received the name of *Chinchona*, in honor of the countess. This discovery has conferred inestimable benefits on the whole human race, and renders memorable the viceroyalty of the Count of Chinchon. That distinguished statesman gave up charge to his successor, the Marquis of Mancera, in December, 1639, and returning

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to Spain, he died eight years afterwards at his castle of Chinchon, near Madrid.

The Marquis of Mancera was succeeded as viceroy by the Count of Salvatierra, these two rulers holding office from 1639 to 1655. Then followed Don Luis Henriquez de Guzman, the Count of Alba de Liste and Grandee of Spain, who had been viceroy of Mexico and was uncle to his predecessor, the Count of Salvatierra. He entered Lima in February, 1655, bringing with him the eminent mathematician Don Francisco Ruiz Lozano. The attention of the Count of Alba de Liste was devoted almost exclusively to the creation of an adequate navy, to strengthening the defences of the ports, and securing the tranquillity of Chile. Lozano was appointed cosmographer, and was the first mathematical professor in Peru, while a native of Malines named Kœnig officiated as his assistant. Kœnig took numerous astronomical observations, constructed a map of Peru, and engraved it on silver plates with his own hand. On the death of Lozano in 1677, Kœnig succeeded him as mathematical professor. In 1678 he was appointed cosmographer, and from 1680 to 1708 he published the Ephemerides of Peru. Thus the Count of Alba de Liste was the founder of scientific studies in the land of the Incas, and his energies were equally directed to the military defence of the country. He expended large sums and sent a considerable force to Chile; built two powerful frigates at Guayaquil; and his two sons were successively admirals of the South Sea. The viceroy returned to Spain in 1661, and was succeeded by Don Diego Benavides y de la Cueva, Count of Santistevan.

The new viceroy was of the blood royal, being descended from Alfonso VII. He had distinguished himself both as a soldier and a diplomatist, and had been viceroy of Navarre before he embarked for Peru to succeed the Count of Alba de Liste. The ill-treatment of the Indians, the open defiance of all rules for their protection, and the rapid decrease of the population, had now become such crying evils that the torpid government of Charles the Bewitched was forced to take some action. A detailed report had been drawn up in July, 1657, by the licentiate Don Juan de Padilla, on the cruel and illegal treatment of the Indians; and he petitioned for prompt and efficacious remedial measures. In this memorable state paper the clergy are condemned as strongly as the civil authorities. The rules respecting the *mitta* had become a dead letter. There was a system of kidnapping throughout the country. In many places, where all the male adults had been dragged off to the mines, the women and children alone were left to till the fields. Boys were torn from their homes when only six to eight years old, taken to slavery in the factories, and cruelly beaten. The expenses of journeys to the mines were never paid, and all wages were withheld. At the mines and factories there were shops for the sale of Spanish goods. The Indians were forced to incur debts at these places, and then detained in perpetual slavery. Tribute was exacted from the villages and not from individuals, and when the population decreased

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the same sum was required. These atrocities were rapidly destroying the natives of Peru, when the persistent outcry of Padilla at length forced the authorities to listen. The fiscal judge of the *Audiencia* of Lima, Don Diego de Leon Pinelo, pronounced the views of Padilla to be correct, and even strengthened his statements on some points. It was further shown that the exactions and tyranny of the clergy were almost as oppressive as the cruelty of laymen. The bishops scarcely ever visited their diocese personally. There were some provinces which had not seen one for fifty and many more for twenty-five years. There was nothing to control or restrain the greed of the priests. The people were driven to mass, where they were forced to pay fees to the priests, and, if unable, their clothes were taken from them in defiance of the law. Large fees were also exacted from the Indians for their dead, though in most cases the priest had neither administered the sacrament nor performed the burial service. The government of the king sent out orders to the viceroy to preside at a committee appointed to examine the charges of Padilla, and to apply a remedy. Excellent regulations were once more promulgated. In 1664 the Count of Santistevan fixed the hours of work from 7 A. M. to 5 P. M., and the rations to be issued in all factories. No aged persons or children were to be employed, no one was to be taken to a distance of more than two leagues from their homes, and wages were to be paid in presence of a government official. But the *mitta* was retained.

The Count of Santistevan died at Lima in March, 1666, and his successor, the Count of Lemos, arrived in November, 1667. This nobleman, a grandee of Spain and descendant of King Sancho IV, was the son of the ninth Count of Lemos, who was the patron of Cervantes. The tenth count was thirty-three years of age when he was appointed Viceroy of Peru. He was married to the beautiful Ana de Borja, daughter of the Duke of Gandia, and three of his children were born in Lima, their godfather being the saintly Jesuit, Francisco del Castillo.

While the attention of his predecessor was mainly directed to measures for checking the abuses in the treatment of the Indians, the Count of Lemos was called upon to remedy the state of anarchy which prevailed in the mining districts. Both these evils arose from the insatiable demand for the precious metals. The state of affairs at Potosi had long been disgraceful. The disputes were incessant, they were invariably settled by a resort to arms, and the civil authority was set at defiance. Potosi had long been a scene of strife and bloodshed. In 1657 a very rich silver mine had been discovered at Layca-cota, near Lake Titicaca, and a speculator named Gaspar de Salcedo had become enormously rich. This caused jealousy among other miners, which resulted in the formation of armed bodies of men and frequent bloody encounters. In 1665 the anarchy was so complete that the Count of Lemos determined to repair to the spot in person. But he did not set out until 1668, when he proceeded to Arequipa, and thence to Paurcar-colla, with a suitable force. The viceroy was a devotee, and he was in

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the habit of subordinating his judgment to that of his religious adviser. When left to himself he was hasty and impulsive. He opened a summary court to try offences, with one of the judges of the *Audiencia* of Lima as his assessor. As many as forty-two persons were publicly executed, including José de Salcedo. Upwards of sixty more were banished and heavily fined. The town of Layca-cota was razed to the ground, and Puno was declared to be the capital of the province. The Count of Lemos returned to Lima, by way of Cuzco, in 1669. He justified his severity by reference to the works of theologians who had declared that the prince who pardons a crime without urgent cause, sins mortally. But the brothers of Salcedo appealed to the king; the lawsuit lasted nearly forty years, and finally the viceroy's judgment was reversed.

During the absence of the Count of Lemos, his young wife, Ana de Borja, administered the government at Lima as vice-queen. The viceroy's proceedings at Puno were considered by his confessor Castillo to have been needlessly harsh and cruel, and he was plunged into the depths of remorse and contrition. He ordered twelve hundred masses for the souls of the men he had executed; and he himself acted as sacristan in his chapel, blowing the organ and attending to the lamps. He founded the schools of the *Desamparados* for poor children, in conjunction with Castillo; and the viceroy's fervor and pious enthusiasm were especially conspicuous on the occasions of the canonization of Santa Rosa of Lima, and of his wife's ancestor, San Francisco de Borja.

The Count of Lemos also exerted himself in defence of the Indians. He prohibited the abuse of having what were called "Indios de faltriquera," or supernumeraries, forcibly carried off to be ready to serve in place of any who might be able to buy themselves off. He reduced the *mitta* at Potosi from 4,000 to 1,800; and he went so far as to urge that the *mitta* should be entirely abolished, and that the mines should be worked by voluntary labor. The viceroy was attacked by a dangerous illness at Lima, which carried him off, at the age of thirty-eight, on December 6, 1672. His body was buried in the church of San Pedro, while his heart was deposited in the Church of the Desamparados, at the foot of "Our Lady of the Forsaken Ones." The countess returned to Spain with her children, and the senior judge took charge until the arrival of the Count of Castellar, the new viceroy.

The Count of Castellar was a younger son of the Duke of Albuquerque, viceroy of Sicily, and was born at Madrid in 1626. Educated at Salamanca, he became rector of one of its colleges, and afterwards ambassador in Germany. This viceroy was a zealous defender of the revenues, economical, strict, and upright; and, like most of his predecessors, he strove to satisfy the requirements of the country, while at the same time he sent home large sums of money to Spain. In four years he succeeded in transmitting $4,462,597, besides the value of quicksilver sent to Mexico, valued at $221,592. The Count of Castellar did his duty in this respect, but he was

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equally energetic in his efforts for the welfare of the people. He frequently punished corregidors and priests for acts of injustice, and in 1674 he declared that Araucanians captured in the wars of Chile should not be slaves, as hitherto, but absolutely free. Some very slight relaxation in the Spanish monopoly was the cause of the viceroy's fall. He had allowed some commercial intercourse with Mexico, and this had led to the introduction of articles from China into Peru. His indulgent policy caused an outcry from the Spanish merchants, who made loud complaints, and, without being heard, the viceroy was summarily superseded, and ordered to be strictly judged as regards the acts of his administration. The archbishop of Lima, Don Melchor de Liñan y Cisneros, took charge on July 7, 1678, and the Count of Castellar was ordered to reside at the village of Surco, near Lima, during his trial. It lasted for two years. Eventually he was acquitted; but strict orders were issued to prevent all trade with China, and to destroy all Chinese articles. After returning to Spain, the count was appointed a member of the Council of the Indies, a post which he occupied until his death in 1686.

The archbishop, who held office for three years and a half, was a great-nephew of the famous regent-cardinal Ximenes. In November, 1681, he was relieved by the Duke of La Palata, a descendant of the kings of Aragon and vice-chancellor of that kingdom; and the Count of Monclova, who followed, was the last viceroy appointed during the period of the Austrian dynasty. Don Melchor Portocarrero, third Count of Monclova and a grandee of Spain, was a very distinguished military officer, and had lost an arm in the battle of the Dunes, near Dunkirk, in 1658. He was viceroy of Mexico, and came to Lima by sea from Acapulco in 1689. During his government Charles the Bewitched, the last king of the house of Austria, died; and when the Count of Monclova was carried off by a fever at Lima in 1705, the Bourbons were established on the throne of Spain.

During the last fifty years of the seventeenth century the power of Spain had rapidly decreased. Fleets of buccaneers harassed and insulted the coasts of Peru and Chile; while English and French settlers occupied several West Indian islands, without regard for that Spanish sovereignty which could no longer be maintained.

The Spanish discoverers and conquerors of the sixteenth century, when they pressed forward to the occupation of the rich islands of Hispaniola and Cuba, and to the subjugation of Mexico and Peru, passed by the smaller islands of the Caribbean Sea, and their discovery by Columbus was not followed by occupation. These lovely islands, therefore, offered convenient headquarters for those who wished to prey on Spanish commerce, and subsequently became colonies of England and France. As early as 1625 the governments of the two countries resolved to plant a royal colony of each nation on one of the West Indian Islands for mutual support against the Spaniards. The island of St. Kitts was selected for this purpose, and Pierre

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Blain D'Esnambuc, the founder of French power in the West Indies, landed on one side of the island on the same day that the English landed on the other. D'Esnambuc also occupied the island of Guadaloupe; but in the midst of plans for further conquest, he died at St. Kitts in 1637. The French also occupied the island of Tortuga and the western side of St. Domingo; and in 1655 the English, under orders from the Lord Protector, took possession of Jamaica. Soon afterwards the depredations of French and English freebooters began along the Spanish Main, and in 1671 Henry Morgan crossed the Isthmus, sacking and burning the city of Panama. In 1680, during the viceroyalty of the Count of Monclova, the buccaneers or freebooters proceeded to still more audacious enterprises. They crossed the Isthmus of Darien, embarked in canoes supplied by the Indians, and captured several Spanish ships in the bay of Panama. In 1684 a buccaneer arrived in the Pacific by a voyage round Cape Horn, and in the following years the Spanish ports were attacked, prizes were taken, and the coast was kept in a constant state of alarm. The Peace of Ryswick, in 1697, put an end to buccaneering for a time, but it was resumed during the War of Succession, and the Spanish colonial system received its first great blow from the Treaty of Utrecht. By that time the Leeward and Windward Islands had become colonies either of England or France, while the growth of sugar by slave-labor made them very profitable possessions.

Philip V was recognized as King of Spain at the Peace of Utrecht, and he founded the Bourbon dynasty in that country. The treaty was signed on March 13, 1713, and England obtained two important concessions. She acquired the right to import slaves by an agreement called "Asiento de Negros," as well as to send a ship, called the "Navio de Permiso," with six hundred and fifty tons of merchandise, when the galleons went to Porto Bello. The French reaped still greater advantages, owing to the new Spanish king being their countryman. French ships were allowed to come round Cape Horn to trade in Chilian and Peruvian ports; and they were sometimes hired for the defence of the coast. Thus there was a sensible relaxation in the monopoly which had hitherto been rigidly enforced. French and English goods found their way to South America through other channels than the annual fleet of galleons sailing from Cadiz. But the supply continued to be inadequate to the demand. It increased the appetite without satisfying it, and the strong and increasing desire for more free intercourse with the outside world was sure to bear fruit in the time to come.

Meanwhile the jealousy of the Spanish merchants, and the desire to use the colonies solely for the benefit of the mother country, continued to manifest themselves. The Marques de Castell dos Rios was the first viceroy sent out by a Bourbon king, and when he died, in 1710, he was succeeded by the excellent Bishop of Quito, Dr. Diego Ladron de Guevara. His enlightened policy created enemies, and he was superseded in 1716, on the ground that his expenditure for Peruvian purposes was too liberal.

Carmine Nicolas Caraccioli, Prince of Santo Bono, a Neapolitan noble-

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A Map or Chart of the WEST INDIES, drawn from the best Spanish Maps, and regulated by Astronomical Observations.

Long. from Paris
NB The Current Setting Strongly between Cuba & New Spain into the G. of Mexico, is turned N. by y opposite Lands, Sweeping round by Florida, passes out again with great Violence between that Cape & Cuba & Bahama Islands, into ye Ocean
The Currents at ye Windward Passage & some of y Leeward Islands
Florida, all Ships bound for Jamaica as well from Carolina &c as Europe are obliged to goe to Angoa or St Kits for ye Trade Winds & Currents
GULF of MEXICO
CAROLINA
FLORIDA
Bermudas
Harbour of SAN AUGUSTIN on the Coast of FLORIDA
A Long Sandy Bay called St JOHN'S BAY.
Island of Matanças or Slaughters
Bay of Honda, or the deep Bay in Cuba
MEXICO
Merida
Campeche
Bay of Honduras
Guatimala
HONDURAS
NICARAGUA
CUBA
HISPANIOLA
San Domingo
ATLANTIC or W. INDIAN OCEAN
WESTERN OCEAN
CARIBBEE ISLANDS
G. ANTILLES or
LESSER ANTILLES
NORTH SEA
SOUTH SEA
Explanations
TIERRA FIRMA
NUEVO REYNO
CARACAS
CUMANA
Surinam
Cayenne
La Trinidad
Barbadoes
Martinico
Guadalupe
Tobago
Long. from London

Reduced from the map in *A New History of Jamaica* (London, 1740).

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man who had been ambassador at Rome and Venice, entered Lima as viceroy on the 5th of October, 1716. The gleam of toleration which followed the Treaty of Utrecht was transient, and the prince came out with stringent orders to destroy all foreign trade in the Pacific, burning ships and merchandise. Two large frigates arrived soon afterwards, under the stern command of Captain Juan Nicolas de Martinet, and several French ships were seized. This vacillating policy had the effect of inciting the desire of the colonists for freedom, while the selfish policy of Spain aroused their indignation. The Prince of Santo Bono was superseded at his own request in 1720, and was succeeded by the most distinguished military man who ever came to Peru as viceroy. Don José de Armendariz, Marquis of Castelfuerte, was a Navarrese. He became a lieutenant-general in 1706, and his gallant charge broke the enemy's left wing at the battle of Villaviciosa. He also took part in the siege of Barcelona, and was captain-general of Guipuzcoa when Philip V appointed him to the viceroyalty of Peru. The Marquis of Castelfuerte entered Lima on the 14th of May, 1724. He was a stern disciplinarian. Accusations had been brought against Diego de los Reyes, governor of Paraguay; and Dr. Don José Antequera was sent to Asuncion with a commission to try the accused official. Antequera assumed the government, and put Reyes in prison, finding that he was a tool of the Jesuits. The government at Lima disapproved of these proceedings, and suppressed the commission of Antequera, ordering Reyes to be reinstated. The viceroy then gave orders for Antequera to come to Lima; but he refused, and called the people to arms. Finally Antequera was arrested and sent to Lima in April, 1726. Society at Lima was in his favor. Great efforts were made to delay his trial. But the viceroy was resolved to punish him, and sentence of death was passed. The judges, the university, the municipality, petitioned for pardon, as well as the people of all classes. The stern old marquis refused to listen, and Antequera was brought out for execution in the great square of Lima on July 5, 1731. There were cries for pardon, and the mob began to throw stones. Hearing the tumult, the viceroy came out on horseback and ordered his guards to fire. Antequera fell dead, as well as the two priests by his side, and several others. The viceroy then ordered the body to be taken to the scaffold and beheaded. His conduct received the approval of the king by a decree of September, 1733.

The Marquis of Castelfuerte was inflexibly just, and, when complaints were brought before him, he protected the people from oppression. In the provinces of Guamanga and Andahuaylas the exactions of the priests became so intolerable that even the civil authorities interfered. The bishop supported his clergy, and went so far as to excommunicate the officials who had submitted the petitions of the Indians. The viceroy firmly supported the civil power, and the bishop was forced to yield to the severe but upright representative of the king. Castelfuerte also resisted the excesses of the Inquisition. Once the Holy Office had the audacity to summon the viceroy to appear before their tribunal. He came with a regiment of infantry and

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two fieldpieces. Placing his watch on the table, he informed the inquisitors that if their sitting was not over in fifteen minutes and he was outside, the room would be bombarded. This resolute and able viceroy gave up charge to his successor, the Marquis of Villagarcia, in January, 1736, and returning to Spain by way of Mexico, he was decorated with the order of the Golden Fleece.

PROCESSION OF THE INQUISITION.*

The new viceroy belonged to that great house of Mendoza which had already given five rulers to Peru. He had been ambassador to Venice, and viceroy of Catalonia, and was already a veteran statesman when he entered Lima, and received charge from the Marquis of Castelfuerte. The first years of the viceroyalty of the Marquis of Villagarcia were rendered famous by the measurement of an arc of the meridian near Quito by the French academicians La Condamine, Bouguer, and Godin, assisted by the accomplished Spanish naval officers Jorge Juan and Antonio Ulloa.[1] This great work

[1] [Charles Marie de la Condamine's *Relation abrégée d'un voyage fait dans l'intérieur de l'Amérique méridionale. Depuis la côte de la Mer du sud jusqu'aux côtes du Brésil & de la Guiane, en descendant la rivière des Amazones* (Paris, 1745) was also appended to Bouguer's *Figure de la Terre* (Paris, 1745), and his *Journal du Voyage* appeared at Paris in 1751. A new edition of the *Relation* was issued at Maestricht, 1778. An English *Succinct Abridgment* was printed at Lon-

* After a plate in Durret's *Voyage de Marseille à Lima* (Paris, 1720), ii. 27.

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was completed in 1736, and M. Godin was afterwards professor of mathematics at Lima for ten years. No credit is due to the viceroy in connection with these scientific achievements. Alarmed by the presence of Anson's fleet in the Pacific and by the sack of Payta, he recalled the Ulloas from their valuable labors; while his name is also tarnished by the bigoted zeal with which he encouraged the horrible *autos-de-fe* of the Inquisition. The aged Marquis of Villagarcia set sail for Spain by way of Cape Horn in July, 1745, but died during the voyage home.

From this period there was a change in the class of men who were selected to be viceroys of Peru. Hitherto they had been noblemen of exalted rank and position. In the last eighty years of Spanish power they were generally distinguished naval and military officers of wide experience, who may be assumed to have been more in sympathy with the colonists. Coincident with this change in the class from which the rulers were chosen, there was a relaxation in the strictness of the monopoly, and a disposition to conciliate the Creole population. Formerly no ship bound for the Indies was allowed to sail from any port but Cadiz. Now other ports of Spain were permitted to trade with South America, and some foreign ships were even allowed to make the voyage by Cape Horn. For thirty years after the departure of the Marquis of Villagarcia, Peru was governed by two military officers, who were instructed to inaugurate a policy of conciliation; namely, Don José Antonio Manso, Count of Superanda, and Don Manuel de Amat.

One form of this conciliatory policy was the conferring of titles of nobility on the colonists. Such titles had occasionally, but very rarely, been granted during the last half of the previous century. The viceroys Manso and Amat had authority to create noblemen on a larger scale, but no other viceroys appear to have been empowered to grant titles. Altogether, one dukedom, fifty-eight marquisates, forty-four counties, and one viscounty were conferred on Peruvian families. Titles were only bestowed on distinguished families; and, though proofs and documents were required, the payment of a round sum of money was the most efficacious title-deed. But it may be doubted whether this measure had any material influence in cementing the loyal feelings of the South Americans for the king of Spain.

General Don José Antonio Manso, a native of Biscay, was a soldier of distinction who had seen active service in the War of Succession. In 1735 he became captain-general of Chile, and, during an energetic administration of ten years, he founded several towns, fortified posts, and constructed

don, 1747; but the *Abridged Narrative* in Pinkerton's *Voyages* (London, 1813), vol. xiv., is usually the version seen. Cf. *Carter-Brown Catal.* iii. nos. 797, 848, 896, 946, 2456, 3448; the record by the Ulloas appended in their *Relacion histórica del Viage* (Madrid, 1748), in four folio volumes. Mauvillon's French version, *Voyage historique*, appeared at Amsterdam and Leipzig in 1752; an English translation, *A Voyage to South America*, at London, 1758, and was later issued in 1760, 1772, 1806, somewhat abridged. Cf. Carter-Brown, iii., nos. 879, 910, 974, 1183, 1262, 1826, 4172. — ED.]

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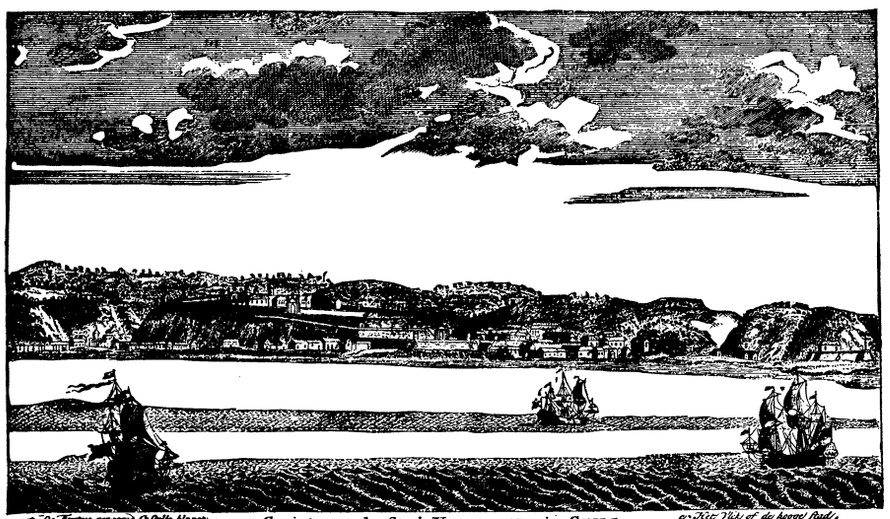
roads. In July, 1745, he entered Lima as Viceroy of Peru, and was created Count of Superunda. A year after his arrival a terrible earthquake destroyed the capital. The west coast of South America is subject to such frequent shocks that it has been thought that their incessant recurrence has had some influence in moulding the character of the people. Since the foundation of Lima, that city had been nearly destroyed in 1586, in 1630, and in 1687; but on none of these occasions was the desolation to be compared with that of the 28th of October, 1746. At Lima the whole city became a heap of ruins, and more than a thousand persons perished. At Callao a great wave destroyed the town, the frigate "San Fermin" was carried far inland, nineteen vessels were stranded out of twenty-three that were at anchor, and 4,600 people were killed.



Gezigt van de Stad. VALPARAYSO in CHILI.

VALPARAISO.*

The Count of Superunda exerted himself to rescue the buried people, showing indifference to his personal safety. He took energetic and judicious steps to relieve the wants of the homeless citizens, and devoted the remaining years of his viceroyalty to the work of rebuilding the capital and the port. In this he received valuable assistance from M. Godin. The French mathematician planned and nearly completed Callao Castle, and restored the Cathedral of Lima and other churches. Manso was the viceroy who held office for the longest period, his term extending to over sixteen years.

His successor, Don Manuel de Amat, who belonged to an ancient Catalonian family, had adopted a military career, and had seen much service. During six years he had been captain-general of Chile, and in October,

* From the *Staat van Amerika* (Amsterdam, 1766), ii. 204. Plans and views are also in Frezier's *Voyage* (1713); in *Allg. Hist. der Reisen*, ix. 558; and a later one in Miers' *Travels* (London, 1826). Cf. Benjamin Vicuña Mackenna's *Historia de Valparaiso* (Valparaiso, 1869, 1872), in two volumes.

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1761, he entered Lima as viceroy of Peru. Amat had a passion for everything connected with military affairs. He organized militia regiments and

The above plan is from the *Staat van Amerika* (Amsterdam, 1766), ii. 12. Cf. plans in Francisco Echave y Assu's *La Estrelia de Lima* (Amberies, 1688); Durret's *Voyage de Marseille à Lima* (Paris, 1720); *Relation of the dreadful Earthquake* (London, 1748); *Allg. Hist. der Reisen*, ix. 376; Coreal's *Voyage*, Frezier's *Voyage*, etc.

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made plans for the defence of the coast. But notwithstanding his arbitrary tendencies and soldierly manner, he acquired great social influence and made many friends at Lima. The work of his viceroyalty was the rebuilding of the city of Lima and the completion of Callao Castle. He also put his small fleet into a state of efficiency, and sent an important expedition of discovery to the Pacific islands in 1772, under the command of Captain Don Domingo Boenechea. Tahiti was reached, and named Amat in honor of the viceroy; upwards of seventeen other inhabited islands were visited and described; plans and charts were constructed, and the narrative was published in the *Diario de Lima* of June 1, 1792. But the most important event during this viceroyalty was the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767. At and around Lima alone they owned 5,200 slaves, $180,000 in gold and silver, 52,300 *marcs* of silver, 7,000 *castellanos* of gold plate, $818,000 of credit, and $650,000 in value of farms. It was necessary to create an office for the management of this confiscated property. The great Jesuit church at Lima was given to the Fathers of San Felipe Neri, and the Jesuit library was acquired by the University of San Marcos.

It was said that Amat intended to reside at Lima after resigning the viceroyalty, but he remained only until the end of 1776, the year in which he was relieved by Don Manuel de Guirion. He returned to Spain very rich, and afterwards lived a retired life in a country house near Barcelona. His successor was a Navarrese of good family, who had served a long and honorable career in the navy. He arrived at the beginning of trouble. The continued oppression by local officials was exhausting the endurance of the people. Insurrections broke out in several parts of the country, which were quelled with more or less difficulty, the good viceroy discountenancing any extreme severity, and remitting capital sentences. The Bishop of Cuzco, Dr. Agustin Gorrichategui, a native of Panama, was an ardent friend of the Indians, and constantly protested against oppression and forced labor. He held the see from 1771 to 1776, and when the news of an outbreak at Urubamba reached him on his death-bed, he urged a policy of mercy and forgiveness with his last breath. But still the cry from home was for more treasure, and in 1776 one of the Council of the Indies, named José Antonio Areche, came out to Peru with powers which virtually superseded the most important functions of the viceroy. His title was Inspector-General of Tribunals and Finance. Don Manuel Guirion returned to Spain in 1780, and was succeeded by Don Agustin Jaurequi, a Navarrese officer who had commanded a regiment of dragoons at the battle of Almanza, and had been captain-general of Chile since 1773. He arrived at Lima, as viceroy of Peru, in November, 1780.

The unwieldy extent of the Peruvian viceroyalty at last necessitated a division. Although the avenging arm of a stern and inflexible viceroy like the Marquis of Castelfuerte could reach to Buenos Ayres, and drag culprits from the shores of the Paraguay to receive punishment at Lima, it became more and more apparent that efficient rule over so vast a territory

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was impracticable. In 1740 Nueva Granada had been raised to the rank of a viceroyalty,[1] with its capital at Bogota; and, following the example of the viceroys of Peru, those of Nueva Granada wrote memoirs at the conclusion of their terms of office, for the guidance of their successors, which cover the period from 1755 to 1813.[2]

In 1776 Buenos Ayres was also elevated to the rank of a viceroyalty, the territory of which included the presidency of Charcas (the modern Bolivia) up to the Lake of Titicaca, and the province of Cuyo, which had hitherto been a part of Chile. The first viceroy of Buenos Ayres, from 1776 to 1778, was Don Pedro de Cevallos. The advisability of this change was clear, owing to the immense distance from Lima and the rising importance of Buenos Ayres. The exportation of Peru and Chile by this route had risen to $35,000,000: the people had become warlike and self-confident, owing to their victories over the Brazilians, and they were no longer disposed to submit to the decrees of a distant authority, ignorant of their wants. Montevideo had been founded in 1726, and the estuary of the Rio de la Plata was frequented by merchant ships from the ports of Spain. The second viceroy of Buenos Ayres, Don Juan José de Vertiz, was an energetic ruler and an active reformer of abuses. His encouragement of commerce and progressive measures in all branches of the administration during the period of his rule, from 1778 to 1784, had a lasting effect on the early prosperity of the country.

Meanwhile the clouds were lowering over Peru. In spite of the efforts of successive viceroys, the treatment of the Indians of Peru had not improved, and their condition had long been intolerable. Isolated resistance had become frequent in various parts of the country, and nothing prevented a most formidable insurrection but the absence of combination. A leader was alone needed, and at about this time there was one forthcoming. The Prince of Squillace in 1618 wrote a despatch on the claims to jurisdiction of the members of the Inca family, who were heirs to the marquisate of Oropesa, and recommended that they should be obliged to live in Spain. This advice was neglected by the Council of the Indies, and in 1770 a descendant, named José Gabriel Condorcanqui, was recognized by the Royal Audience at Lima as heir to the marquisate, and as fifth in lineal descent from the Inca Tupac Amaru, who was put to death by the Viceroy Toledo in 1571.[3]

After the judicial decision, the young Inca adopted the name of Tupac Amaru. He was educated at the college of San Borja at Cuzco, which had

[1] [Up to this time, the history of the Jesuit missions in Nueva Granada forms no small part of the story of that province. It is told in Joseph Cassani's *Hist. de la Provincia de la Compañia de Jesus del Nuevo Regno de Granada en la America* (Madrid, 1741). It has a map, sometimes found in other books of this time, "Mapa de la Provincia y missiones de la Compañia de I. H. S. del Nuevo Regno de Grenada." — ED.]

[2] These *Memoirs* were edited and published at New York, in 1869, by Dr. Don José Antonio Garcia y Garcia, an accomplished Peruvian.

[3] See *ante*, Vol. II. p. 553.

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been founded for the training of Indian chiefs, and his scholastic acquirements were not inconsiderable. He spoke Spanish with fluent accuracy, and his vernacular Quichua with peculiar grace. At the age of twenty he succeeded his father as cacique of Tungasuca and two other villages situated in a cold and lofty region of the Andes, near Cuzco. His address was dignified and courteous towards superiors and equals, but in his intercourse with the aborigines, by whom he was profoundly venerated, there was a sedateness not inconsistent with his legally admitted claims to the diadem of the Incas. In mind he was enterprising, cool, and persevering. He lived in a style becoming his rank, and derived a sufficient income from the hire of large troops of mules. He habitually cultivated the acquaintance of Spanish priests and officials, never neglecting an opportunity of representing to them the deplorable treatment of the Indians. He assisted the distressed, paid tribute for the poor, and sustained whole families which had been reduced to ruin. He cherished the traditions of his family, and profoundly felt the responsibility of his position.

Tupac Amaru exerted himself for years, and exhausted every means of obtaining redress, before he was driven to take up arms in defence of his race. His original object was to obtain guaranties for the observance of the laws and their just administration. His views were confined to these ends when he first drew his sword, although afterwards, when his moderate demands were only answered by cruel taunts and brutal menaces, he saw that independence or death were his only alternatives. The most merciless oppressor of the Indians was Don Antonio Aliaga, the corregidor of Tinta, near Lima. The Inca determined to commence his revolt by punishing this great culprit. Recruits were embodied, the corregidor was arrested, and on November 10, 1780, he was publicly executed at Tungasuca, in presence of a vast assemblage of Indians. Tupac Amaru then advanced towards Cuzco at the head of a large force, destroying the factories and liberating the imprisoned workmen. At this moment he might probably have entered Cuzco without opposition, but, unfortunately relying on the justice of his cause, he opened negotiations. Forming an intrenched camp round Tinta, he issued a proclamation setting forth the causes of his revolt, recapitulating the grievances of the people, and calling upon them to rally to his standard. They rose as one man, and nothing was heard but acclamations for their Inca and redeemer. On the 28th of January, 1781, the heights round Cuzco were covered with his army, and he addressed letters to the bishop and the municipality. But the garrison had been reinforced, there was an indecisive battle, and the Inca retreated to his camp at Tinta.

The whole of the interior of central and upper Peru was in revolt, and the viceroys at Lima and Buenos Ayres were thoroughly alarmed. Don Agustin Jaurequi seems to have thrown the responsibility on his unwelcome visitor, Don José Antonio Areche, who proceeded to Cuzco with extraordinary judicial powers, accompanied by Don Benito de la Matta Linares, one of the judges of the *Audiencia*, and reinforcements under General

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del Valle. By the end of February, 1781, a force was assembled at Cuzco, consisting of the tribes of a few Hispanicized caciques, negroes and mulattoes from the coast, and a nucleus of Spanish troops, — in all 15,000 men. Areche received a letter from Tupac Amaru, in which he represented the earnest efforts he had made to obtain justice for his people, the habitual violation of the law by the Spanish officials, the cruel and intolerable oppression of the *mitta*, and proposing a negotiation by which reforms might be secured without bloodshed. The despatch was very ably written, and is a monument of the noble and enlightened views of this great but most unfortunate patriot. The answer of Areche was that he refused all negotiation, vowed the most horrible vengeance, and he concluded by saying that if the Inca surrendered at once the cruelty of the mode of his execution would be lessened. The Spanish general protested against the brutality of this reply.

Tupac Amaru now proposed to resist to the utmost. On March 12, 1781, General del Valle left Cuzco and advanced up the valley to Checacape. Near this village the Inca had taken up a position defended by a ditch and parapet, and manned by 20,000 men ; but he had neglected to provide for the protection of his flanks. This omission was fatal. Attacked in front and rear, the Indians, after an heroic struggle, fell back to another intrenched position near Tinta. The Spaniards, following up their success, made an assault, and carried the position at the point of the bayonet. All was lost. Tupac Amaru, with his wife and three sons, fled to Lanqui, where he intended to rally his disordered forces. But he was treacherously betrayed and brought a prisoner to Cuzco, with many of his relations. His brother, Diego Tupac Amaru, and two nephews escaped. On the same day General del Valle hanged sixty-seven Indian prisoners.

The diabolical cruelties of Areche and his colleague, Matta Linares, are almost too horrible for record. On the 15th of May, 1781, Areche published a long and most atrocious sentence. In the annals of barbarism there is probably not to be found a document equalling this sentence in savage wickedness and imbecile absurdity. The hideous cruelty was literally carried into effect in all its revolting details. On the 18th there were ten executions in the great square of Cuzco, which was lined with Spanish and negro troops. Not an Indian was to be seen. An uncle of the Inca, verging on fourscore, and the Inca's eldest son, a youth of twenty, had their tongues cut out and were garroted with an iron screw. The same was done to the Inca's wife and several others. The tongue of the Inca was then cut out, and lassos, secured to the girths of four horses, were fastened to his wrists and ankles. The horses were made to drag different ways, and as his body was thus raised into the air his youngest child, a boy of ten, who was forced to witness the slaughter of his family, uttered a heart-rending shriek. The knell continued to ring in the ears of those who heard it to their dying day. It was the death-knell of Spanish colonial dominion, — the first stroke of that bell which was to toll for forty years. The Inca's

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body remained in agony for many minutes, while Areche and Matta Linares gloated over the sight. At length his head was cut off, and at that moment a great wind arose, with torrents of rain. The Indians declared that even the elements mourned the death of the Inca, whom the impious and inhuman Spaniards were torturing with such cruelty. After the perpetration of these atrocities at Cuzco the war became one of extermination, and not less than 80,000 people fell victims to the vengeance of the Indians and of the Spanish troops.

Diego Tupac Amaru, the brother of the Inca, took command of the insurgent forces in the Collao, and besieged Puno, which fell into his hands, while the Spanish army under General del Valle retreated to Cuzco. The commissariat had been so shamefully neglected that he could not keep the field. This was due to the incapacity and neglect of Areche, who was recalled by the viceroy in August, and returned to Spain. The Inca's brother established his headquarters at Azangaro, whence he promulgated a manifesto setting forth the grievances of the Indians. This is a very able and telling document, and, together with the more detailed writings of the Inca himself, forms a complete vindication of this memorable insurrection.

The suppression of the revolt in upper Peru by troops from Buenos Ayres induced Diego Tupac Amaru to listen to overtures for a pacification that were made to him by the Spaniards. On a promise of pardon and redress of grievances, he and his nephews were induced to disband their forces and return to their homes. But no sooner were they in the power of their perfidious enemies than all the promises were broken. Diego and his relations were put to death in July, 1783, and efforts were made to extirpate every member of the Inca lineage. But the Inca did not die in vain. It must be recorded of them, that, unlike other dispossessed families, they sacrificed themselves in the hope of serving their people, and not for their own selfish ends. They did not die in vain, for in their fall they shook the colonial power of Spain to its foundation. From the cruel death of the last of the Incas may be dated the rise of that feeling which ended in the expulsion of the Spaniards from South America.

The viceroy Don Agustin Jaurequi was called upon for a report on the causes which led to the discontent of the people. He replied that the injustice of the *mitta*, the misery caused by it, and the exactions of the priests were the reasons which led to the feelings which culminated in the rebellion. His proposed remedies were the extinction of the Quichua language, solid instruction in the Catholic faith, fair treatment, and a just and equal distribution of the *mitta*. This viceroy gave up charge in April, 1784, and died from the effects of an accident a few days afterwards. His successor was Don Teodoro de Croix, a tall, handsome soldier, and native of Lille, in Flanders. He had served in the frontier province of Sonora when his brother, the Marquis of Croix, was viceroy of Mexico, and he arrived at Lima on April 4, 1784. His term of office was a period of peace,

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during which two of the reforms demanded by Tupac Amaru were adopted, namely, the abolition of the corregidors and the creation of a court of justice for hearing native causes at Cuzco. In 1784 it was resolved, in accordance with the plan of Tupac Amaru, to abolish the office of corregidors, and to divide Peru into seven large provinces called *intendencias*, composed of *partidos*. The *intendencias* were governed by *intendentes*, directly responsible to the viceroys, and the fifty-four *partidos* were under *sub-delegados*, subordinate to the *intendentes*. These divisions correspond to the departments and provinces of the modern republic. The *Audiencia* of Cuzco was installed in November, 1788. A financial committee was also established at Lima, chiefly with the object of enforcing a uniform system of accounts throughout the colonies. Don Teodoro de Croix retired in 1790, returning to Spain by way of Cape Horn, and leaving behind him a good reputation as an upright, kind-hearted, and religious man.

The new viceroy, Don Francisco Gil de Taboada y Lemos, a native of Galicia, was a sailor, and had been admiral of the royal fleet. He was a great reformer and an able administrator, a lover of letters and an active promoter of literature. He encouraged the assemblage of literary men, and under his friendly auspices thought was set free and liberal ideas began to prevail. The admiral gave access to all official records for those who planned the *Mercurio Peruano*. The projectors of this periodical were the admiral himself, Drs. Gabriel Moreno and Hipólito Unanue, — two men of high scientific attainments, — the rector of the College of San Carlos, the famous explorer Sobreviela, and several ecclesiastics and military officers. The first number appeared on January 1, 1791, and the contributors formed a society or club entitled "Amantes del Pais." A room at the university was set apart for their meetings by order of the viceroy. The *Mercurio Peruano*[1] completed twelve volumes, from 1791 to 1794, and from 1793 to 1798 an annual Official Guide was published, under the editorship of Dr. Unanue. The viceroy also began to publish a *Gazette* at Lima. His interest in the navy led him to found a nautical school, and open a hydrographic office for the sale of charts. Great encouragement was also given to the exploration of the courses of great tributaries of the Amazon by missionaries under the lead of Fray Narciso Gerbal, while Don Alejondro Malespina surveyed the coasts. The admiral also superintended the preparation of a map of Peru by the hydrographer Andres Baleato, which was used to illustrate the memoir on his administration. Admiral Taboada, the best and most enlightened of the viceroys of Peru returned to Spain in 1796, when he was made director-general of marine. He died in 1810.

It appears from the statistics published by the retiring viceroy in 1794, that the population of Peru was then 1,076,997, — that is, the seven intendencias of Lima, Cuzco, Guamanga, Arequipa, Huancavelica, Tarma, and

[1] [Cf. *ante*, Vol. I. p. 276. Extracts from this periodical are the essential parts of Joseph Skinner's *Present State of Peru* (London, 1805), and of *Peru aus dem Mercurio Peruano* (Weimar, 1808). — ED.]

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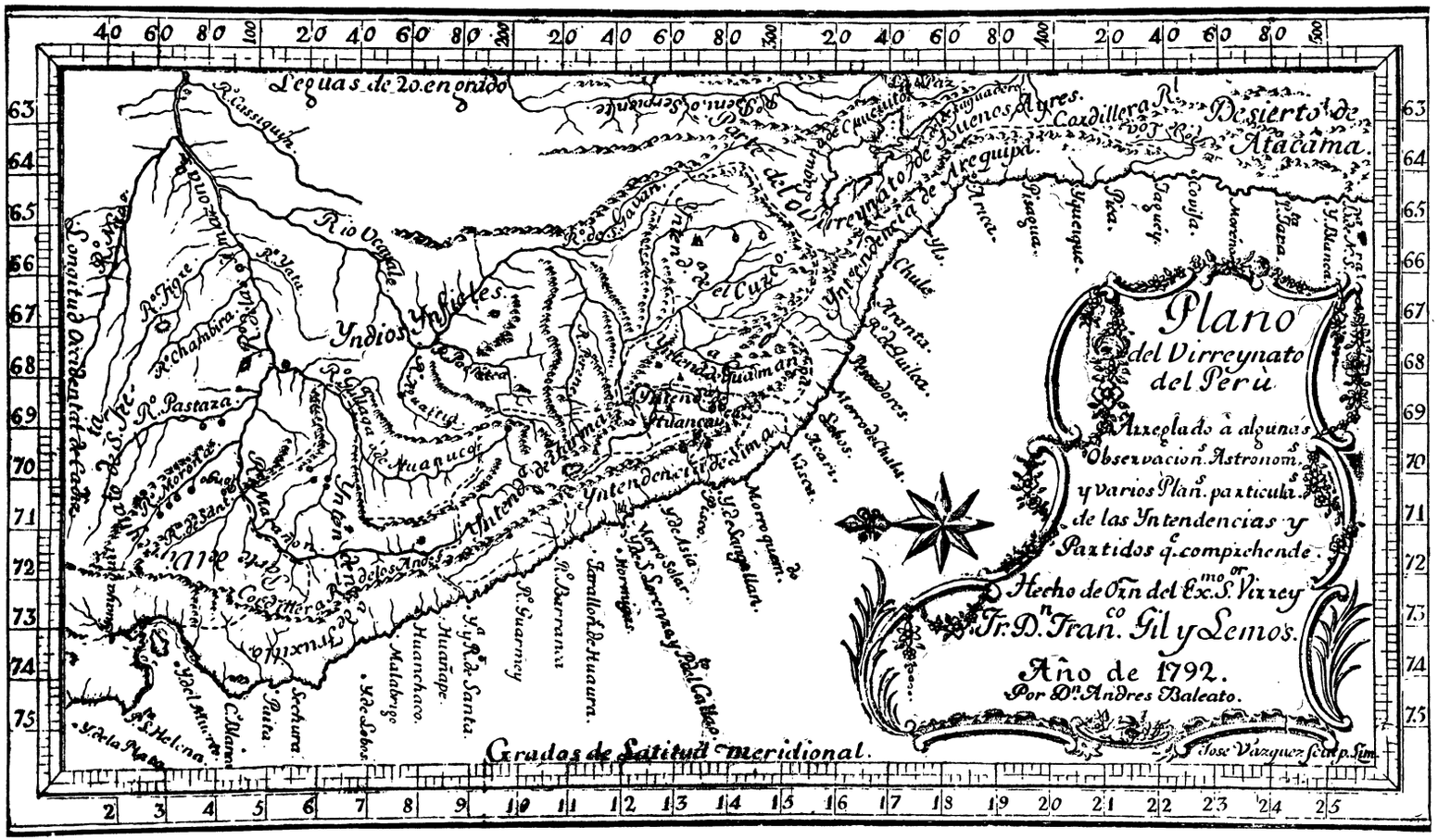

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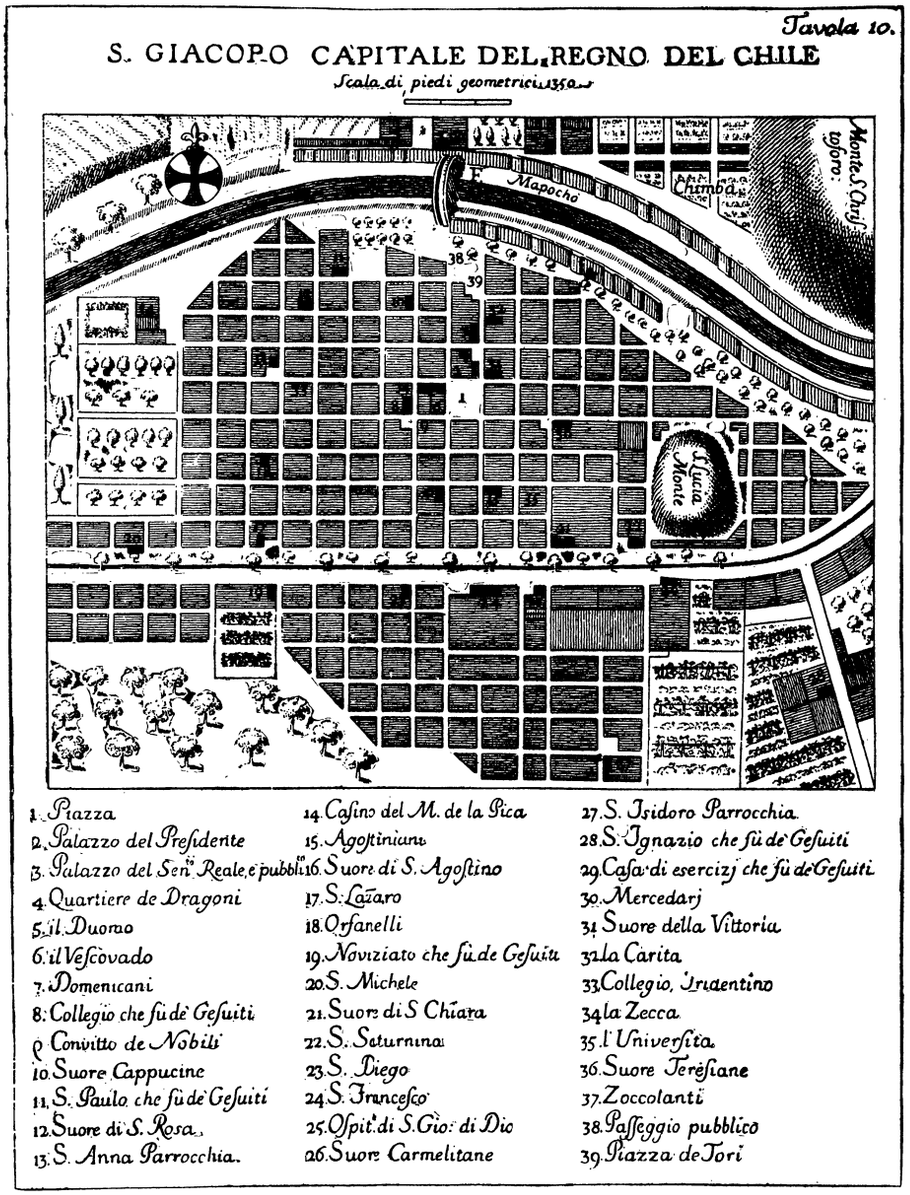
Truxillo. Of these, 608,912 were Indians, 244,437 half-castes, 136,311 of Spanish descent, and 80,000 negroes. When Toledo numbered the Peruvian Indians in 1575, there were 8,000,000! The salary of the viceroy was



NOTE. — The above plan of Santiago is reduced from one in the *Compendio della Storia del Regno del Chile* (Bologna, 1776). There is a "Prospectus y planta de la Ciudad de Santiago" in Ovale's *Regno de Chile* (Rome, 1648), p. 170. There are later ones in Frezier's *Voyage* (1713), and in the *Allg. Historie der Reisen* (vol. xv.); and a later one in Miers' *Travels* (London, 1826). Cf. B. V. Mackenna's *Historia de la Ciudad de Santiago, 1541 a 1868* (Valparaiso, 1869).

NOTE. — The opposite map is from the *Guia del Perú para el año de 1796* (Lima).

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$60,500. The receipts were $6,393,206, and the expenditures $4,082,313, leaving a surplus of $2,935,106 for transmission to Spain. There were 5,596 clergy, and the tithes averaged $291,867 a year, besides fees. The trade between Peru and Cadiz in 1791 was represented by $4,183,856 worth of imports, and $5,699,590 of exports, leaving a balance for Peru of $1,515,734. The tribute exacted from the Indians amounted to $885,586.

DON AMBROSIO O'HIGGINS.*

The next viceroy of Peru was a very remarkable man. In the middle of the last century a little Irish boy, named Ambrose Higgins, was employed to carry the letters to the post for Lady Bective. He had an uncle who was a priest at Cadiz, and eventually he was sent to this uncle to be

* After an engraving in Arano's *Historia de Chile*, vol. vii.

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educated. Thence he found his way to Peru, and was employed in a little shop under the terrace of the cathedral at Lima. Proceeding to Chile as a young man, he showed so much engineering talent that he obtained a commission in the army. His conduct on the Araucanian frontier displayed such tact and judgment in dealing with the Indians that he was promoted to the command at Concepcion. There he received the expedition of La Perouse, and rendered the French explorer so much assistance that his services were strongly recommended to the notice of the Spanish government. From 1788 to 1796 he was captain-general of Chile, and adopted the prefix O' as being more aristocratic. He visited every part of his government, corrected abuses, made peace with the Araucanians, and constructed the carriage road from Santiago to Valparaiso. From 1796 to 1800 he was viceroy of Peru, and was created Marquis of Osorno. He died rather suddenly at Lima in March, 1801, and was succeeded by a man of very different character. Gabriel Aviles, Marquis of Aviles, had been upwards of twenty years in South America as a military officer, and had been guilty of atrocious cruelties during the insurrection of Tupac Amaru. He was in command of the troops during the execution of the Inca at Cuzco. He succeeded O'Higgins as captain-general of Chile, and was viceroy of Buenos Ayres when he was summoned to Lima in 1801. A penurious financier, Aviles undertook no public work and promoted no useful measure. He died at Valparaiso in 1806, when about to embark for Spain.

Don José Fernando Abascal, a native of Oviedo, had entered the army as a cadet in 1762, and had seen much service in various parts of the world, including Buenos Ayres, where he was employed under Cevallos, the first viceroy. Taken prisoner by the English on his way out to Peru, he was landed at Lisbon, and went thence to Rio Janeiro. He then made a very remarkable journey by land from Brazil to Peru, and entered Lima in July, 1806. The Viceroy Abascal felt that the revolutionary ideas of France, which were rapidly spreading, would surround him with perils, and he determined to strive to avert them by a policy of active usefulness. He introduced vaccination, founded a medical hospital, prohibited burials in churches, and established a Pantheon outside the city. He also organized a formidable army, built the artillery barrack of Santa Catalina at Lima, made a large cistern in Callao Castle, and cast upwards of fifty 4-pounder fieldpieces. General Pezuela, who had arrived from Europe in 1805, was inspector of artillery. But Abascal was a protectionist of the old school. He supported the exclusive monopoly of the Cadiz merchants, raised the *alcabala* or excise dues, and increased the customs tariff. In 1811 a Spanish man-of-war left Callao with $2,000,000 for the mother country.

All revolutions, like armies on the march, advance with pioneers in front. Such men are sometimes a century, sometimes a few years in advance of the general movement. They often point out or shed light on the paths of progress by their sufferings, sometimes by their life's blood. The Inca

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Tupac Amaru was the foremost pioneer of the independence of Peru. After his death, many enlightened Spaniards and men of Spanish descent inculcated the doctrines of freedom, and thus leavened the rising generation. Dr. Pedro José Chavez de la Rosa, Bishop of Arequipa from 1789 to 1805, was such a teacher. His pupils became the most ardent advocates of reform. Another inspirer of revolutionary ideas was Rodriguez de Mendoza, the rector of the College of San Carlos at Lima. The College of Medicine, under the teaching of Dr. Unanue, was another centre of liberal ideas. Many of the clergy joined heartily in the movement. The nobility and even the ladies of Lima caught the infection. In the house of the Countess of Gisla a secret club of advanced reformers held their meetings; while the army was full of ardent patriots. The young advocate José de la Riva Aguero became the ringleader of the secret societies. Allied to the nobility, making common cause with educated men by reason of his learning and his profession, young and with popular manners, he was well fitted for the work of organizing opposition. Clubs were formed, and the duty of their members was to make proselytes and to propagate liberal ideas. The Conde de Vista Florida, an ennobled Peruvian, was the coadjutor of Riva Aguero, and the ostensible head of the constitutional party. There were local rebellions at Tacna and Huanuco in 1811 and 1812, and in 1813 the Inquisition was abolished. The people of Lima rose, forced their way into the palace of the Holy Office, liberated the prisoners, and broke in pieces the instruments of torture.[1]

The Viceroy Abascal had concentrated the whole military power of the Spanish colonies at Lima. Organized resistance could be attempted only at a distance from this centre; although liberal ideas and aspirations were seething in the capital. The invasion of the Spanish Peninsula by the French Emperor was the immediate cause of the revolt of the colonies. In 1807 the Portuguese royal family fled to Brazil, and the Brazilian colony was proclaimed a separate kingdom in 1815. In 1808 Napoleon seized and imprisoned the king of Spain at Bayonne. A regency was organized at Cadiz. All parties were unanimous in refusing to acknowledge Joseph Bonaparte. But while the viceroys and Spanish officials recognized the Cadiz regency, the colonists as a body withheld their allegiance, declaring that they would organize native governments during the king's imprisonment.

These movements began in Venezuela, where the captain-general nominated by the regency was deposed in April, 1810, and a government was formed, while young Simon Bolivar was sent to London to solicit protection from the English ministry. The mediation of England was offered to and refused by Spain, and Bolivar returned in company with General Miranda, who was placed in command of the Venezuelan troops. But Miranda was unable to maintain his position. In July, 1812, he made a treaty with

[1] Cf. B. V. Mackenna's *Francisco Moyen o lo que fué la inquisicion en América* (Valparaiso, 1868), and an English translation (London, 1869).

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the Spanish General Monteverde, and the first Republic of Venezuela ceased to exist. Soon afterwards Miranda was arrested, sent to Cadiz in irons, and died in prison. A Spanish army of 10,000 men was sent out, under General Morillo. Venezuela and Nueva Granada were entirely subdued,[1] and great numbers of leading patriots were shot at Bogota in cold blood. Bolivar took refuge in Jamaica, and bided his time.

In Chile the first attempt at revolution was equally unfortunate. The original pretext was the same as in Venezuela: the formation of a govern-

MIRANDA.*

ment during the king's captivity. A *Junta de Gobierno* was proclaimed at Santiago on the 18th of September, 1810. The *Audiencia* was dissolved, Dr. Rosas was placed at the head of affairs, and the first Congress met in 1811. But dissensions broke out among the patriots. Don José Miguel Carrera, with his two brothers, Juan José and Luis, headed a military mutiny at Santiago, while Rosas was in power at Concepcion. Valdivia and Chiloe remained faithful to Spain. The Carreras corrupted the troops at

[1] [There was published in Paris in 1826, as translated from the Spanish, *Mémoires relatifs aux principaux événements de Campagnes en Amérique de 1815 à 1821*, as chronicling Morillo's progress; but he denied all connection with the work. *Biblioteca Beéche*, p. 199; Arana's *Notas*, no. 321. — ED.]

* This plate, originally engraved in Paris, in 1793, by Gaucher, was reëngraved in London by Bragg, and appeared in J. M. Antepara's *South American Emancipation Documents historical and explanatory, shewing the designs which have been in progress, and the exertions made by General Miranda for the South American Emancipation* (London, 1810). Cf. portrait in Rafter's *Gregor M'Gregor* (London, 1820).

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Concepcion. Rosas was banished to Mendoza, and died in obscurity. Carrera promulgated a fundamental law or constitution in 1812, and welcomed a friar named Camilo Henriquez, who had fled from Lima, owing to the persecution of the Inquisition. He embraced the cause of the revolution with enthusiasm, and edited the first Chilian periodical, called *La Aurora*. The Viceroy Abascal dispatched a force under Brigadier Pareja to restore order in Chile, and he landed at Talcahuano in 1813. His presence gave

JOSÉ MIGUEL DE CARRERA.*

rise to despondency and discontent. Carrera was deposed, and Don Demetrio O'Higgins, a son of the viceroy, Marquis of Osorno, was placed at the head of the revolutionary forces. In the following year the viceroy of Peru sent fresh reinforcements to Chile, under General Osorio, who marched on Santiago. Carrera and O'Higgins combined against the common enemy; and the hostile forces met at Rancagua on October 12, 1814.

* After a likeness in Arana's *Hist. de Chile*, viii. There is a portrait of Luis Carrera in Mackenna's *Ostracismo de los Carreras*.

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The rebels were totally defeated, O'Higgins fled across the Andes to Mendoza, and Spanish rule was restored in Chile.

At Buenos Ayres the revolution was more successful. In September, 1810, a national government was formed, the first congress met in 1813, and General Belgrano was sent to stir up a revolution in Upper Peru, and oppose the forces of the viceroy.

An insurrection had broken out at La Paz and Chuquisaca in Upper Peru, a year before the establishment of a national government at Buenos Ayres. But General Goyeneche, sent from Lima by the Viceroy Abascal, carried all before him, and inflicted remorseless vengeance on all who had

BELGRANO.*

favored the attempt. Nevertheless, the government of Buenos Ayres sent an expedition to Upper Peru in 1810, under Dr. Castelli, to establish a national régime. Once more the terrible Goyeneche marched into Upper Peru, and Castelli was utterly defeated at the battle of Huaqui. But the whole country had risen, and a desultory war continued. On the retirement of Goyeneche, the Spaniards were commanded by General Ramirez; while the Buenos Ayres government sent General Belgrano to assist the insurgents in February, 1813.

Meanwhile, an aged Peruvian cacique named Mateo Garcia Pumacagua, who had sided with the Spaniards against Tupac Amaru, but who embraced

* After a likeness in Mitré's *Historia de Belgrano* (Buenos Ayres, 1887), vol. ii. The third volume shows the equestrian statue at Buenos Ayres.

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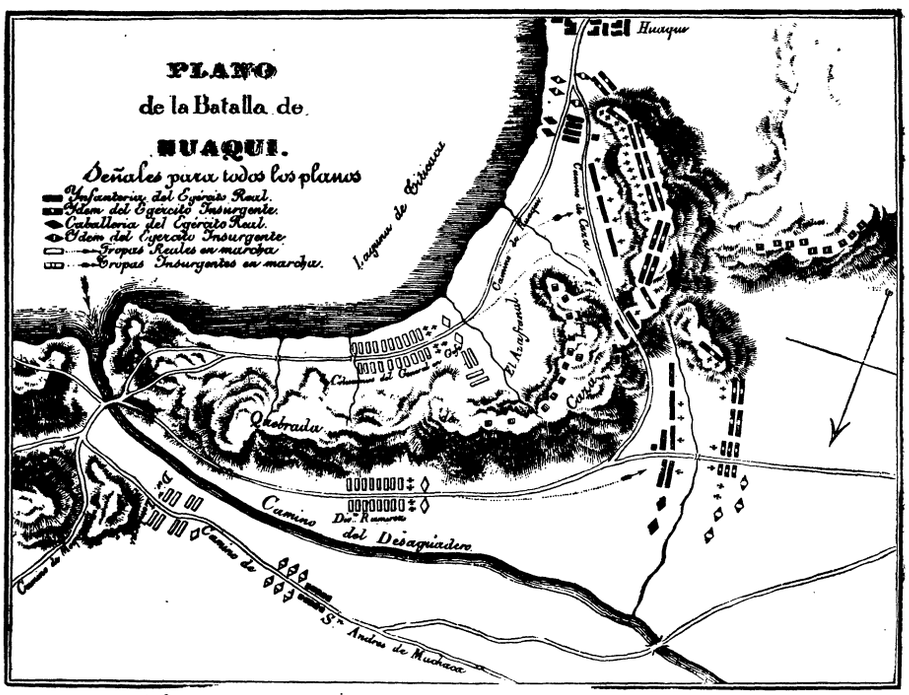
the cause of the patriots in his old age, had risen at Cuzco. He was joined by several Spaniards of position, all the Indians flew to arms, and he advanced to Arequipa in triumph. Ramirez found himself threatened both in front and rear. He countermarched on Arequipa, and Pumacagua retreated at his approach. General Pezuela was hard pressed by Belgrano in the south, so Ramirez resolved to follow up and dispose of the Indian cacique. Reaching Lampa on March 1, 1825, he reçeived a proposal for a convention. But he refused any terms except unconditional surrender. On the 12th he came up with Pumacagua at Umachiri, and dispersed his large but half-armed force. Pumacagua was taken and hanged. All the



From Torrentè's *Revolucion Hispano-Americana*, vol. i.

officers of Spanish descent were shot, including the poet Melgar of Arequipa, and many of the Indians were mutilated. The united forces of Ramirez and Pezuela then recovered Upper Peru, and numerous local insurrections were suppressed with ruthless cruelty.

The Viceroy Abascal saw his policy succeeding in all directions. Chile and Upper Peru were reconquered. Resistance was stamped out in Venezuela and Nueva Granada. Buenos Ayres alone remained free. He thought that Spanish power was restored. It was only a lull before the final storm. Abascal was created Marques de la Concordia. He was relieved by General Pezuela in July, 1816, and returned to Spain, where he had the rank of captain-general. He died at Madrid in 1821, aged seventy-eight.

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The new viceroy was a mere soldier, and one in whom the officers had no confidence. General La Serna had succeeded him in Upper Peru, but had not been able to make head against the Argentines at Salta and Jujuy. In 1819 he came to Lima with the intention of returning to Spain. But he was prevailed upon to remain. Pezuela was believed to be incapable, and on January 29, 1821, he was deposed by a military cabal at the camp of Annapuquio. General Don José de La Serna then took office, and was the last viceroy of Peru.

STATUE OF SAN MARTIN AT BUENOS AYRES.*

Help was to come from Buenos Ayres, and of the most effectual kind. José de San Martin was the true hero of South American independence. Born in Paraguay, where his father was governor of the "Misiones," San Martin went to Spain when a boy, and, after studying at the military college of Madrid, became a cadet in the Spanish army. His gallantry at the battle of Baylen gained for him the rank of lieutenant-colonel, but, hearing of the struggle for liberty in his native land, he resolved to resign his commission and return to South America. He at once received a high command, succeeding General Belgrano, and he established a regular system of discipline among the insurgent troops. In September, 1814, San

* After a photograph in a folio volume, *El General San Martin*, which was given to Harvard College library by D. F. Sarmiento, and contains, beside, an account of the inauguration of the statue in 1862, sundry documents relating to San Martin, a colored view of Pizarro's standard, used in the Conquest, and given to San Martin by the municipality of Lima, a "bibliografia del General San Martin," which largely serves for a bibliography of the period of independence, and an account of the portraits of San Martin. There is a bust portrait in Miller's *General Miller* (London, 1829), and another view of this statue in Mackenna's *Ostracismo de los Carreras.*

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Martin began the labor of creating an army of the Andes at Mendoza, the nucleus of which was 180 recruits from Buenos Ayres. It took the general two years to increase this force to an army fit for the invasion of Chile. All that time San Martin devoted himself to the task with sound judgment, ability, and industry. He enjoyed the full confidence of officers and men. By 1816 he had 4,000 regular troops at Mendoza, well clothed and armed.

At length, on January 17, 1817, San Martin began his wonderful march across the Andes with 3,000 infantry, 960 cavalry, 1,200 muleteer militia-men, 120 laborers, and 70 staff officers. Provisions for 5,200 men

BERNARDO O'HIGGINS.*

for fifteen days, ammunition, spare arms, and a train of field artillery were carried by 9,000 mules. The provisions were jerked beef seasoned with capsicums, toasted maize, biscuit, cheese, and onions as a cure for *soroche*, the illness caused by rarefied atmosphere at great heights. The divisions were commanded by Las Heras, Alvarado, and the fugitive Chilian O'Higgins. Many of the soldiers died of *soroche*, nearly all suffered from it, and only 4,300 mules ever arrived in Chile. Mendoza is 4,486 feet above the sea, and the summit of the pass attains a height of 12,700 feet. Thence there is a descent of upwards of 10,000 feet to the plains of Chile. The passage of the Andes occupied three weeks. In the passage of the Great St. Bernard, Napoleon had only to lead his troops to a height of 7,963 feet.

* After a mezzotint in J. Miller's *Life of General Miller* (London, 1829), vol. ii.

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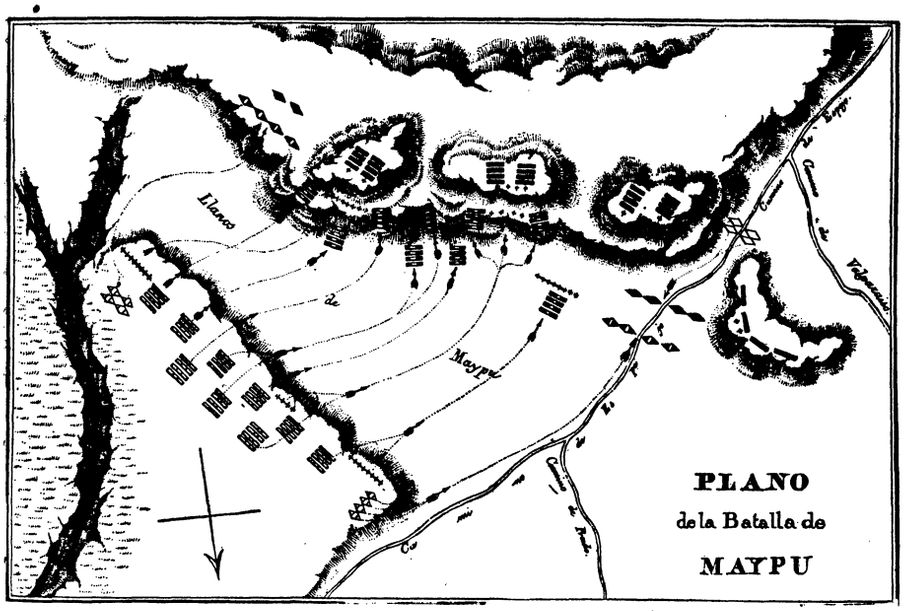
San Martin's army had to ascend nearly 5,000 feet higher, and in other respects their achievement was still more remarkable.

In February, 1817, the patriot army debouched from the mountains, and found the royalists under Brigadier Maroto occupying the pass of Chacabuco, 4,000 strong. On the 12th, O'Higgins led his Chilians up the ascent, and carried the position at the point of the bayonet. San Martin then advanced to Santiago, and was nominated Supreme Director of Chile. But he declined the honor. His great object was the liberation of Peru, without which no other part of South America would be safe. Don Bernardo O'Higgins was chosen in his place, while San Martin went back to Buenos Ayres to solicit reinforcements. Returning to Chile in April, he



From Torrente's *Revolucion Hispano-Americana*, vol. ii. There are other plans in Miller's *General Miller*, and in the atlas of Gay's *Chile*.

prepared to encounter General Osorio, the victor of Rancagua, who had arrived from Lima with 3,400 veteran soldiers. The patriots had advanced in their views. They no longer claimed the right of government during the king's captivity. Ferdinand VII was now free, and they refused to acknowledge him. On February 12, 1818, the absolute independence of Chile was proclaimed; and in March the two generals, San Martin and O'Higgins, advanced southwards with 7,000 men, to encounter the royalists under Osorio, who had occupied Talca. The patriots were drawn up on the adjacent plain of Cancha-Rayada. On the 19th they were surprised by a night attack, thrown into confusion, and fled in all directions. The Argentine division of Las Heras alone retired in good order. The generals succeeded in rallying the fugitives, and a fortnight after the defeat an army

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of 5,000 patriots was encamped on the Maypu, at a distance of nine miles from Santiago. Osorio advanced to a position in front of his enemies, the two armies being nearly equal in number. On the morning of the 5th of April the battle commenced which finally decided the fate of Chile. At first the patriots fell back in some disorder. But San Martin promptly brought up the reserves, and gained a complete victory.

Five days after the victory of Maypu, the indefatigable San Martin once more set out for Buenos Ayres, to lay before the government his plan for the liberation of Lima by a naval expedition from Valparaiso. The independence of the Argentine Republic had been proclaimed on the 9th of July, 1816, and Don Juan Martin de Puyrredon, the Supreme Director, heartily supported the views of San Martin. That general returned to

LORD COCHRANE'S HOUSE AT QUINTERO.*

Chile in January, 1820, and assembled an army of 4,500 men for embarkation at Valparaiso. The officers were nearly all either Argentine or European volunteers, and two thirds of the soldiers were from Buenos Ayres, the rest being Chilians. As many as 62 officers had come from Europe to strike a blow for freedom, and 3 from the United States.[1] Of the Europeans, 37 were British or Irish, exclusive of 30 English naval officers. Of this number of 65 volunteers, no less than 21 were killed in battle, and 18 were wounded.

Everything depended on the organization of a fleet. The Spanish viceroy had concentrated an army of more than 20,000 men in Peru; but the command of the sea is the one thing needful to secure success in the military invasion of the land of the Incas. This command the Spaniards were about to lose.

[1] The Americans were Lieutenant Charles Eldredge, who was killed at the assault of Talcahuano on Dec. 6, 1817; Captain Henry Ross, who was wounded at the battle of Yerbas Buenas on March 31, 1818, and died in Chile; and Captain Daniel L. V. Carson, wounded before Talcahuano in 1817.

* After a cut in Lady Maria Graham's *Journal* (London, 1824).

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In 1818 the Chilian government had bought two old East Indiamen, an old British corvette, and two brigs, and had mounted them with guns; the whole cost of this little squadron being £120,000. They were all commanded and officered by Englishmen. The Spanish frigate "Maria Isabel" was the first capture, and she was re-named the "O'Higgins." The British admiral, Lord Cochrane, arrived at Valparaiso on November 28, 1818, hoisted his flag on board the "O'Higgins," and received command of the patriot fleet: "O'Higgins" (50 guns), Lord Cochrane, Captain Forster, Major Miller; "San Martin" (56 guns), Captain Wilkinson; "Lautaro"

LORD COCHRANE.*

(44 guns), Captain Guise; "Chacabuco" (20 guns), Captain Carter; "Galvarino" (18 guns), Captain Spry; "Araucano" (brig), Captain Ramsay; "Puyrredon" (brig), Captain Prunnier. The fleet sailed on January 16, 1819, and was off Callao in February, where the Spaniards had assembled their fleet: "Esmeralda" (44 guns), Captain Luis Coiz; "Venganza" (42 guns), Captain Blanco Cabrera; "Sebastiana" (28 guns); "Pezuela" (22 guns); "Maypu" (brig); "Potrilla" (brig); besides six armed merchantmen. The frigate "Prueba" (50 guns) was at Guayaquil. The patriot fleet engaged the forts at Callao, and returned to Valparaiso. In September,

* After an engraving in *The European Magazine*, May, 1809.

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1819, Lord Cochrane again sailed to Callao, with the intention of making a more sustained attack with fire-ships; but they exploded prematurely. In February, 1820, Lord Cochrane, with the efficient aid of Major Miller, captured the important port of Valdivia, in the south of Chile, and also drove the Spaniards out of the island of Chiloe.

General San Martin's army was now ready at Valparaiso, and, having been embarked, the fleet sailed once more on the 21st of August, 1820. The troops were landed at Pisco, where they remained until October, when they were reëmbarked, and eventually put on shore at Ancon, to the north of Lima. Meanwhile Lord Cochrane had formed the design of cutting out the Spanish frigate "Esmeralda" from under the guns of Callao Castle. At midnight on the 5th of November he led the boats of the fleet in two divisions, respectively under Captains Crosbie and Guise, with 180 seamen and 100 marines. They ran alongside the "Esmeralda" unperceived, boarding on both sides simultaneously. The Spaniards made a spirited resistance with small arms, but were overpowered. The ship's cables were cut, her sails were set, and she was transferred to another anchorage. She was re-named the "Valdivia," and Captain Guise received the command.

In 1821 General San Martin opened negotiations with the Spanish authorities, on the basis of the recognition of the independence of Peru, a provisional constitution being framed until the meeting of a congress, and a Bourbon prince being received as king. But the royalist generals insisted upon these proposals being rejected, and the Viceroy La Serna retired into the interior with all his forces, making his headquarters at Cuzco. San Martin then entered Lima, and the independence of Peru was proclaimed on the 28th of July, 1821. The liberating general was declared Protector, and he organized a civil government. In August a decree abolished the *mitta*, or forced labor; and in October an "Order of the Sun" was created, the titles of nobility being also recognized. Callao Castle surrendered in September, and its commandant, Lamar, came over to the patriot side. The frigates "Venganza" and "Prueba" surrendered to the Peruvian government. Lord Cochrane resigned in January, 1823, and fifteen of his officers took service under Captain Guise, the founder of the Peruvian navy.

While San Martin was liberating Chile and occupying the ancient capital of the viceroys of Peru, the patriots of Colombia had not been idle. The Spanish General Morillo had carried all before him in Venezuela and at Bogota, and he had celebrated his success with ruthless cruelty.[1] But in 1817 Simon Bolivar made a descent upon Venezuela, and established himself at Angostura. In 1818 he fought several indecisive actions with the troops of Morillo, and in 1819 an English legion arrived, consisting of 2,000 well-equipped men.[2] A congress was assembled at Angostura, and Bolivar was

[1] [Cf. Col. Maceroni's *Appeal to the British Nation on the Affairs of So. America.* — ED.]

[2] [Cf. James Hackett's *Narrative of an Expedition which sailed from England in 1817 to join the So. Amer. patriots* (Lond., 1818); C. Brown's *Nar. of the Exped. to So. America* (Lond., 1819). — ED.]

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elected president of Venezuela. The Spanish forces at Bogota marched to form a junction with those at Caraccas; but Bolivar interposed between them, and won the battle of Boyaca on August 7, 1819. Three days afterwards he entered Bogota in triumph. A congress met in December, and decided that Venezuela and Nueva Granada should form one republic, to be called Colombia. Morillo departed for Europe in 1820, and the victory gained by Bolivar at Carabobo on June 24, 1821, decided the fate of Colombia. In the following January General Bolivar assembled an army at Popayan to drive the Spaniards out of the province of Quito. His second in command, General Sucre, led an advanced guard, which was reinforced by a contingent of volunteers from Peru, under Santa Cruz. The Spanish General Ramirez was entirely defeated in the battle of Pichincha, and

BOLIVAR.*

Quito was incorporated with the new republic of Colombia. Bolivar entered Quito on June 16, 1822, and obtained permission from the Colombian Congress to proceed to Peru.

Bolivar was forty years of age at this period of his career. Born at Caraccas, of good family, in 1783, he was a true child of that sunny land. Of short stature, his body was thin and meagre. His face was long, with hollow cheeks and livid brown complexion. He was passionately fond of dancing and of lolling in a Spanish hammock, but he never smoked. His character was made up of vanity, profound dissimulation, ambition, and a thirst for power. His temper was fiery and capricious, but he was brave and far-sighted, and capable of long-sustained effort.

* After a likeness in Miller's *Life of Gen. Miller*, vol. ii. Cf. Rafter's *Gregor M'Gregor* (London, 1820).

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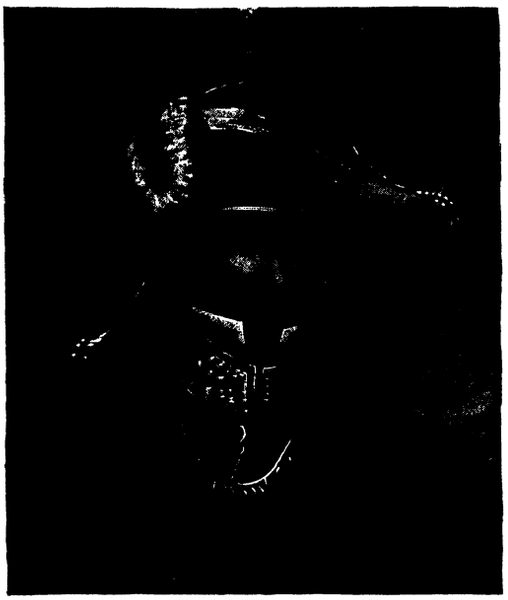
In July, 1822, the Protector San Martin and the Liberator Bolivar passed three days in secret conference at Guayaquil. On his return to Lima the Protector convoked a national Congress, resigned his office on September 20, 1822, and issued a farewell address to the Peruvian people. "The presence of a fortunate soldier," he said, "however disinterested he may be, is dangerous to a newly founded state. I have proclaimed the independence of Peru. I have ceased to be a public man." Next day San Martin embarked for Chile, and, crossing the Andes once more, he returned to Europe with his only child, a girl named Mercedes. He lived at Brussels, devoting himself to the education of his daughter, and died at Boulogne, aged seventy-two, in 1850. In 1880 his remains were deposited in the Cathedral at Buenos Ayres, with magnificent funeral rites.



GENERAL MILLER.*

After the departure of San Martin, a Committee of Government was formed, and an expedition was sent, under General Santa Cruz, to attack the Spaniards in Upper Peru; but in August, 1823, the patriots were defeated by the Spanish General Valdez, at the battle of Zepita, and the attempt ended in failure. Another disaster quickly followed. The garrison in Callao Castle mutinied, and delivered it up to the Spaniards on March 2, 1824. General Rodil took command there as governor.

On September 1, 1823, General Bolivar landed at Callao, and made his public entry into Lima. The Congress named him Dictator, and dissolved itself. In July he commenced his march towards Cerro Pasco with an army

* After a mezzotint (full length) in Miller's *Life of Miller* (London, 1829), vol. i.

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9,000 strong. The Colombian infantry was led by Lara and Cordova, the Argentine by Necochea, and the Peruvians were under Lamar. The Peruvian cavalry was commanded by General Miller, an English officer who had served in the Peninsular War and in the fleet with Lord Cochrane. General Sucre, the hero of Pichincha, was chief of the staff. Great attention had been paid to the transport and commissariat departments, and care was taken that the men received their pay. The royalists in the neighborhood of Cerro Pasco were commanded by General Canterac.

In the afternoon of the 6th of August, 1824, the hostile forces came in sight of each other on the plain of Junin, 12,000 feet above the level of the sea. Ordering his infantry and artillery to retreat, Canterac placed himself at the head of his cavalry and charged. The patriot cavalry was about 900 strong, but Miller had been ordered to flank the enemy's right with two of his Peruvian squadrons. Wheeling to the left, he separated from the rest of his cavalry. But the enemy's right performed a similar evolution; and Miller, being overpowered, fled for a short distance along the margin of a morass. At this critical moment the first Peruvian squadron, under Colonel Suarez, charged the enemy in his rear, checked the pursuit, and gave Miller time to face about and form again. The Spaniards were then attacked with fresh ardor, and ultimately completely routed, retreating in the utmost confusion. Such was the brilliant cavalry action of Junin; and next day the whole command of the cavalry was entrusted to General Miller.

The army advanced to Guamanga, and General Bolivar returned to the coast, leaving Sucre in command. General La Serna, the last viceroy of Peru, was at the head of 12,000 men, with 24 field-guns, and a well-appointed arsenal at Cuzco. Canterac and Valdez, who commanded divisions, were among the best officers in the Spanish army. La Serna advanced from Cuzco, and spent some months in efforts to out-manœuvre General Sucre. This entailed harassing marches and counter-marches among the mountains, and his troops were nearly worn out when the viceroy occupied the steep heights of Condor-Runka, in sight of the village of Quinua, where the patriots were encamped, at a distance of about ten miles from the city of Guamanga.

The little plain of Ayacucho, 11,600 feet above the sea, stretches out at the foot of the Condor-Runka heights, and is flanked by ravines. On December 7, 1824, Sucre established his headquarters at a ruined chapel on the Ayacucho plain. Both armies were in want of provisions, and it was a necessity that they should fight on the following day. The patriots numbered 5,780 men; the Spaniards, 9,310. The morning of December 9th dawned particularly fine. At 9 A. M. the Spanish divisions began to descend from the heights, forming into column as they reached the plain. At this moment Cordova charged with his Colombian infantry, in four parallel columns. After a sharp struggle the Spaniards lost ground, retreating back up the steep ascent, and the viceroy was taken prisoner.

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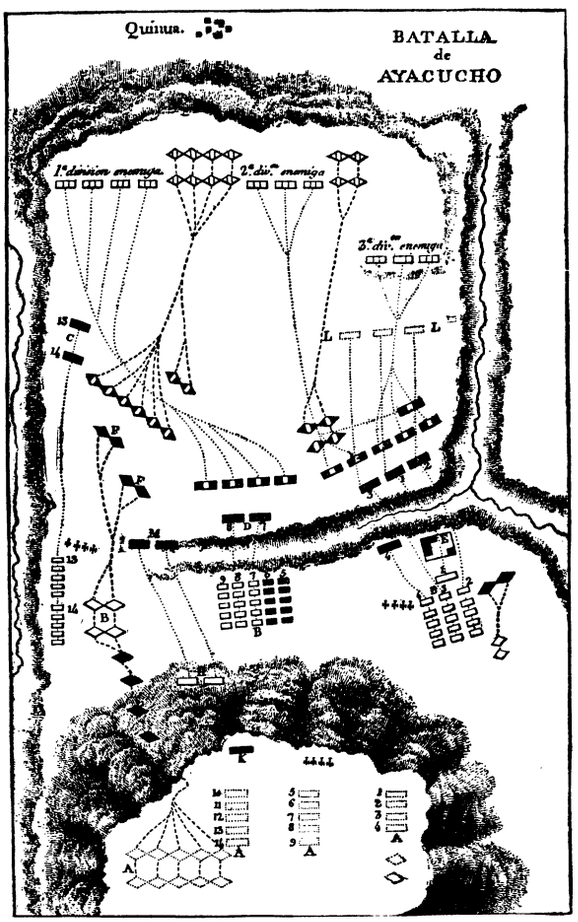
Meanwhile Valdez had made a long detour, and threatened the left rear of the patriots. He opened a heavy fire on the Peruvian division of Lamar, which began to give ground. At this decisive moment General Miller led his cavalry against the advancing enemy; by a timely charge he enabled the Peruvians to rally, and the division of Valdez was routed. The victory was complete. The battle of Ayacucho lasted about an hour. Before sun-



After a plan in Torrente's *Revolucion Hispano-Americana*, vol. iii. Cf. plan in Miller's *General Miller*, ii.

set General Canterac sued for terms, and a capitulation was signed. The viceroy, 12 Spanish generals, 76 colonels, 68 lieutenant-colonels, 484 other officers, and 3,200 privates became prisoners of war. The rest had dispersed. The viceroy and most of the officers received their passports, and returned to Spain. But General Rodil did not surrender Callao Castle until January 19, 1826.

In April, 1825, the Dictator Bolivar made a triumphal progress through the principal cities of Peru, as far as Potosi and Chuquisaca. In August a

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general assembly met, and decreed that Upper Peru, which had been a part of the viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres since 1777, should be a separate republic, with the name of Bolivia. General Sucre was elected the first president, from 1826 to 1828.

Returning to Lima in 1826, Bolivar had himself proclaimed president for life; but this step made him so unpopular that in September he suddenly set out for Guayaquil, never to return. All the Colombian troops followed him early in the next year. The new Republic of Peru was thus left to

BOLIVAR.*

shape her own destinies. The aristocratic notions of San Martin were not entertained. The "Order of the Sun" and titles of nobility were declared by the Congress to be incompatible with republican institutions, and were abolished, and the law of entail was repealed in 1828. General Lamar was chosen president. He was a native of the province of Quito, and was anxious to annex his native land to Peru. He thus led his adopted country into a disastrous conflict with Colombia, and was rightly banished. On August 31, 1829, General Agustin Gamarra, a Peruvian born at Cuzco, and

* This portrait has been frequently engraved. Cf. Ducoudray Holstein's *Simon Bolivar* (Boston, 1829); Alex. Walker's *Colombia* (Londres, 1822), vol. ii.

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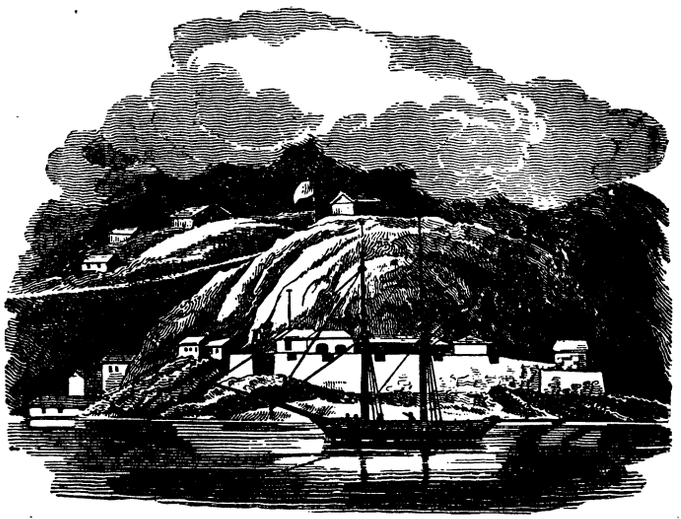
a hero of Ayacucho, was elected president, and a democratic constitution was adopted.

General Bolivar, after a troubled rule of four years as president of Colombia, died in a small house near Santa Martha on December 17, 1830. His remains found a final resting-place in the Cathedral of Caraccas. It was then found that the republic he had formed was of too vast an extent, and contained too many conflicting interests for efficient government. The three republics of Nueva Granada, Venezuela, and Ecuador were formed out of the Colombia of Bolivar, in 1830. In 1857 Nueva Granada was changed into the present democratic federation of the United States of Colombia. Venezuela chose Don José Antonio Paez as its first president in 1830. Ecuador, the old Spanish province of Quito, became a separate republic, and framed a constitution in May, 1830; General Flores being



VALPARAISO FORT.*

the first president. In the following month General Sucre, who had been expelled from Bolivia in 1828, was assassinated near Pasto. After his famous victory, Sucre had received the title of Grand Marshal of Ayacucho.

The Republic of Bolivia received an independent existence from Bolivar, owing to the unanimous wish of the people. In Spanish times, as Upper Peru or Charcas, it had always been ruled by its own *Audiencia*, but without a separate captain-general. Very jealous of foreigners, the people expelled General Sucre after two years, and were afterwards ruled for a long time by General Andres Santa Cruz, descendant of a long line of native chiefs.

In Chile General O'Higgins honorably filled the post of Supreme Director for six years. But the people whose battles he had fought, and

* After a cut in Lady Maria Graham's *Journal* (London, 1824).

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whose freedom he had secured, obliged him to abdicate in 1823. He retired to Peru, where his father had been viceroy, and the Peruvian government presented him with the estate of Montalban, in the valley of Cañete. Here he lived in retirement for twenty years, dying at Lima in 1842. The Chilian Constitution was adopted in 1833, and the natural resources of the country have insured a rapid advance in material prosperity for a republic which was formerly the poorest and least valuable of the Spanish colonies.

It was to Buenos Ayres and the gallant Argentine followers of San Martin that both Chile and Peru owed their independence. The Argentine Republic had been free since 1810, and it had generously made great sacrifices for the general good of South America. After many years of trouble it has at length reaped its just reward, and has entered upon a career of progress and great prosperity. The Banda Oriental del Uruguay, with Montevideo for its capital, after having caused a war between Brazil and Buenos Ayres, became an independent republic on August 27, 1828. Paraguay, the seat of the Jesuit Misiones until 1767, was declared independent in 1811; but the little state fell under the despotism of Francia and Lopez for half a century, and suffered from a desultory war with Brazil until 1870; so that its free life has existed for barely twenty years.

Brazil became independent almost contemporaneously with the Spanish colonies. When the Portuguese court returned to Lisbon in 1821, a congress at Rio chose Dom Pedro, the eldest son of King Joam VI, as their "Perpetual Protector" on May 1, 1822, and the independence of Brazil was proclaimed on the 7th of the following September. Pedro I was chosen Constitutional Emperor in October of the same year, and the Constitution was adopted on the 25th of March, 1824. The first emperor, in April, 1831, abdicated in favor of his son, Pedro II, who still reigns.

The Spanish colonies commenced their independent careers under every possible disadvantage. All important posts, both in church and state, had almost invariably been given to Spaniards. Out of 672 viceroys, captains-general, and governors who had ruled in America since its discovery, only 18 had been Americans; and there had been 105 native bishops out of a total of 706. The same system of exclusion existed in the appointments of the presidents and judges of the *Audiencias*. This injustice not only gave rise to bitter complaints, but it was permanently injurious to the colonists, because it deprived them of a trained governing class when the need arose. Their exclusion from intercourse with the rest of the world had been still more injurious, and had thrown them back both as regards material prosperity and educational facilities. Without these drawbacks, the natural obstacles caused by vast deserts, stupendous mountain chains, areas of dense forest, and earthquakes were exceptional impediments in the way of good government and of advances in civilization. Thus the South Americans began under extraordinary disadvantages, and had a task before them of unusual difficulty. It is, therefore, fair that these circumstances should

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receive their due weight in considering the shortcomings of the infant republics. In spite of much that must be deplored, they have all made advances in civilization, and can all, in different degrees, lay claim to having achieved a share of success. Every nation has, in its beginning, a rough ordeal to undergo. The South American republics have now passed through that ordeal. They have much to regret, but they also have not a little of which to be proud. The talent and great natural abilities of the youth of South America cannot be denied. In after life these qualities have borne rich fruit in numerous instances. In politics, in literature, in science, and in arms, the South American republics have given birth to worthies of whom any nation in the world would be justly proud. A critical study of their history cannot fail to produce the conviction that most of what is evil and worthy of condemnation has been the result of causes which are transient and exceptional, while there remains a residuum of solid worth which justifies reasonable hope for the future.

CRITICAL ESSAY ON THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION.[1]

THE material for the history of South America, during the colonial period, is very abundant and complete; although a large proportion is still inedited and in manuscript. It was the custom of the viceroys of Peru, at the conclusion of their terms of office, to prepare a detailed memoir reviewing their administration in the different departments, for the information of their successors. Nearly all these important state papers have been preserved. Ten of them [2] have been edited at Lima by Don Manuel Fuentes, and published in six volumes — *Memorias de los Vireyes*.[3] Several others are among the Additional Manuscripts in the British Museum; and the whole series furnishes a complete

[1] [The bibliography of South American history has not as a whole been sufficiently well done. The works of Beristain de Souza and of Diego Barras Arana are elsewhere referred to (*ante*, I. pp. ii, vi), and there are some later records, like Trübner's *Bibliotheca Hispano-Americana* (London, 1870, 1879); B. Vicuña Mackenna's *Estudios i catálogo de la biblioteca Americana coleccionada por el Sr. Gregorio Beéche* (Valparaiso, 1879), and sections in more general treatises on Americana, like those of Leclerc and the rest. Mr. Paul Leicester Ford has recorded what he could find of such general South American bibliographies, with an enumeration of subordinate lists by geographical divisions of the continent, in *The Library Journal*, August, 1888. The maps of South America in general for the seventeenth century are enumerated in Uricoechea, p. 89, etc.; and those in MS. in the British Museum are noted in Calvo's *Recueil des Traités* (x. 324, etc.). The typical published maps are those in Dampier's *New Voyage round the World* (1703); in Ulloa's *Voyage* with reproductions in Prevost and in the *Allg. Hist. der Reisen;* the popular English one in R. Rolt's *New and Accurate Hist. of South America* (London, 1756); and for Dutch readers that of Isaak Tirion in the *Staat van Amerika* (Amsterdam, 1767). — ED.]

[2] Namely, those of the Marquis of Montes Claros, 1607–1615, the Prince of Squillace (or Esquilache), 1615–21, the Conde de Castellar, 1674–1678, Archbishop Liñan y Cisneros, 1678, the Duke of La Palata, 1678–1680, the Marquis of Castelfuerte, 1724–1736, the Count of Superunda, 1745–1761, Don Manuel Amat, 1761–1776, Don Teodoro de Croix, 1784–1790, and Don Francisco Gil de Taboada y Lemos, 1790–1796. Of these the memoirs of the Prince of Esquilache, the Duke of La Palata, Don Manuel Amat (copy made by Sir Woodbine Parish at Buenos Ayres), and Don Francisco Gil de Taboada y Lemos, are also among the Additional Manuscripts in the British Museum.

[3] [The full title of the work is *Memorias de los Vireyes que han gobernado el Perú, durante*

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official history of the rule of the viceroys of Peru. They are all valuable, although of course some are more useful and complete than others. Details respecting the working of mines, the statistics of agriculture and commerce, financial administration, the condition of the people, the fortifications, and naval and military strength of the colonies, will be found scattered through these memoirs; and in some there are full accounts of exploring expeditions in the eastern forests.[1] Biographical notices of the viceroys, some in considerable detail, are given by General Mendibara, in his *Historico-Biographical Dictionary of Peru*.[2]

Original documents have also been preserved relating to the treatment of the Indians, the ordinances regulating their obligations to labor, and the rules for their protection; and others denouncing the habitual evasion of these laws. The most important of these documents is the report on the injustice suffered by the Indians, dated July 20, 1657, by Don Juan de Padilla, which was ordered to be published by the viceroy in 1660. There is also a report by Diego de Luna, protector-general of the Indians, dated February, 1630, which proposes the abolition of the *Mitta*. The former is among the *Papeles Varios* at Lima, the latter among the series of acquisitions, called Additional Manuscripts, in the British Museum.

Among the Spanish manuscripts in the British Museum, of which there is an excellent catalogue,[3] will be found numerous documents respecting the Indians, the disputes at the silver mines, the commerce, and the topography of the country. The detailed topographical descriptions of the provinces of Peru, by Dr. Cosme Bueno, appeared in the *Calendario de Lima* (1763, etc.), an annual publication extending over seventeen years. Full reports of the expeditions to explore the courses of rivers in the valley of the Amazon, by Franciscan missionaries from the convent of Ocopa, beginning in 1787, were written by Fathers Sobreviela and Girbal, and others. Some were printed in the *Mercurio Peruano*, others as appendices to the Memoirs of Viceroys.

Dr. Pedro de Peralta y Barnuevo, of Lima, was the most prolific Peruvian writer during the last century. His *Lima Fundada* is an epic poem, giving a narrative of the conquest, with notices of successive viceroys and their acts, down to the author's time.[4]

el tiempo del Coloniaje Español (Lima, 1859), in six folio volumes. There is a supplemental work, *Relaciones de los Vireyes y Audiencias que han gobernado el Perú* (Lima, 1867). — ED.]

[1] Besides the ten published memoirs, the following are among the Additional Manuscripts in the British Museum: viz., the Memoirs of the Marquis of Guadalcazar, 1622–1629, of the Count of Alba de Liste, 1655–1661, of the "Audiencia" after the death of the Count of Monclova, 1705, correspondence of the Count of Superunda, 1745–61, Memoir of Don Manuel Guirior, correspondence of Don Agustin Jaurequi, correspondence of the Marquis of Osorno with Don Manuel Godoy, Prince of Peace, 1796–1801, Reports of the Marquis of Aviles, 1801–1806, and of Don José F. Abascal, 1806–1816.

[2] Lima, *Primera Parte* (6 vols.), 1874–1885.

[The most comprehensive of the considerable native histories of Peru, covering the period now under notice, is the consecutive work of Sebastian Lorente, whose successive volumes are as follows: *Historia del Perú, bajo la dinastía Austriaca, 1598–1700* (Poissy, 1863; Paris, 1870); *Historia del Perú bajo los Borbones, 1700–1821* (Lima, 1871); and *Historia del Perú desde la Proclamation de la independencia, 1821–27* (Lima, 1876), vol. i. The bibliography of Peru is best covered in M. P. and M. F. Soldari's *Geografía del Perú* (Paris, 1862), vol. i. p. 715, and the *Bibliotheca Peruviana* (London, 1873). The earlier history of the northwestern parts of South America is covered in Alcedo y Herrera's *Aviso histórico, político, geographico, con las noticias del Perú, Tierra-Firme, Chile y Nuevo Regno de Grenada, desde el año 1535 hasta el de 1740* (Madrid, 1740?).

The distinct cartography of Peru and Chile from De Bry and Wytfliet is recorded in Uricoechea's *Mapoteca Colombiana*, with such records of the voyagers as Olivier du Nort (Amsterdam, 1602), and for the last century we find the general collections, like Prévost (vol. xiii., or *Allg. Hist. der Reisen*, xv.), giving the ordinary views. — ED.]

[3] By Guyangos, *Spanish MSS. in the British Museum*. Calvo (*Recueil des Traités*, x. 317) gives a list of those relating to South America, and also (x. 296, etc.) a similar list of those in the Royal Academy of History at Madrid.

[4] [*Lima fundada, o conquista del Perú. Poema heroico en que se decanta toda la historia del descubrimiento y sugecion de sus provincias por*

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The scientific mission of the brothers Ulloa, in addition to their well-known book of travels, resulted in the preparation of an elaborate report on the government of the Spanish colonies, their naval and military strength, and on the cruel oppression and extortion suffered by the aborigines at the hands of the corregidores and priests. It was published at London in 1826, in a folio volume entitled *Noticias Secretas de América*[1] — an important collection.

The great earthquake of 1746, which destroyed Lima and Callao, was described in a brief narrative published at Lima in the same year.[2] The English version of this narrative is badly translated and of no value.[3]

The materials for a history of the revolt of Tupac Amaru are very complete. An interesting account of the insurrection of the Inca, and of that of Catari in Upper Peru, will be found in the *Ensayo de la historia civil del Paraguay, Buenos Ayres y Tucuman* (Buenos Ayres, 1816–17, in three volumes; second ed., 1856, in two volumes), by Dr. Don Gregorio Fuñes, the dean of Cordova. A large collection of original documents, including edicts, proclamations, despatches, narratives, and news-letters, was printed by Don Pedro de Angelis at Buenos Ayres in 1836. These materials enable the student to follow the course of events, and to form a judgment of the principal actors and of their motives.[4] The result of such an investigation will be a feeling of warm sympathy for the Inca and his people, and of indignation at the injustice and cruelty of the Spanish officials. The work of Angelis is the main source of information respecting this critical period of Peruvian history.[5] But it is by no means exhaustive. There are several other documents, including narratives and the edicts of the Inca, among the Additional Manuscripts in the British Museum. The letter from Tupac Amaru to the Judge Areche, and the sentence of death pronounced by the judge, are printed in an appendix to the Spanish edition of the *Memoirs* of General Miller. The diary of a Spanish governor of La Paz during the siege of that city by the Indians was published in Temple's *Travels in Peru*.[6] The late General Miller received a large collection of original manuscripts from a Father of the Franciscan Convent of Santiago de Chile, and he collected numerous personal reminiscences of the insurrection when he was at Cuzco in 1833.[7]

The history of the later rebellion of Pumacagua at Cuzco is also contained in a series of official documents preserved in a volume in the public library at Lima. These include

Don Francisco Pizarro. Y se contine [sic] *la reine de los Reyes, la historia de los Virreyes y Arzobispos, que ha tenido; y la memoria de los Santos, y varones ilustres, que la ciudad y regno han producido* (Lima, 1732), in two quarto volumes. It was reprinted at Lima in 1863, as the first volume of a *Coleccion de documentos literarios del Perú*, edited by Manuel de Odriozola, the director of the library at Lima. — ED.]

[1] [*Noticias secretas de América sobre el estado naval, militar i politico de los Reinos del Perú, i provincias de Quito, costa de Nueva Grenada i Chile, sacadas a luz por Don David Barry* (London, 1826). An abridged English version "by an American" was published at Boston in 1851. — ED.]

[2] *Individual y verdadera relacion de la extrema ruina que padecio la ciudad de los Reyes de Lima con el horrible temblor de tierra acaecido en ella, la noche de 28 de Oct., 1746, y la total asolacion del presidio y puerto del Callao* (Lima, 1746; Mexico, 1747, 4to, pp. 20). Arana (*Notas*, No. 276) says it was written by Pedro Lozano.

[3] *True and particular relation of the dreadful earthquake which happen'd at Lima, the capital of Peru, and the neighboring port of Callao, on the 28th of October, 1746* (London, 1748). [This is accredited to Stephen Hales, but Rich assigns it to Henry Johnson. A French translation from it, with additions, was published at La Haye, 1752. A Portuguese version of the original Spanish appeared at Lisbon in 1748. A compiled account appeared in *True and particular Hist. of Earthquakes* (London, 1748). — ED.]

[4] Cf. also the *Documentos históricos del Perú*, mentioned *ante*, Vol. II. p. 576. The first volume of this collection covers the Tupac Amaru rebellion (Lima, 1863).

[5] *Coleccion de obras y documentos relativos a la historia antiqua y moderna de las provincias de Rio de la Plata, ilustrados con notas y disertaciones, por Pedro de Angelis* (Buenos Ayres, 1836–37, tom. v. pp. 109–286). This work embraces six volumes. The contents are given in Leclerc, *Bibl. Amer.*, no. 2646.

[6] Temple's *Travels in Peru*, ii. pp. 103–178.

[7] [Leclerc, *Bibl. Amer.*, no. 1789, notes an incomplete MS. history of this insurrection by José Martinez de Oz (1783). — ED.]

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a diary of the movements of the army under the Spanish General Ramirez (which was also printed), the proclamation of Angulo at Cuzco, a letter of Pumacagua to General Ramirez, the reply of Ramirez, and the statement of Pumacagua before his execution. Another report on the history and causes of the insurrection of Pumacagua, by Manuel Pardo, is printed in the appendix to the 6th volume of the *Biographical Dictionary* of Mendibara, who also gives a life of Pumacagua.

From the Spanish translation of his *Historia del Regno de Chile* (Madrid, 1795), vol. ii.

The early movements towards independence in Peru, including the teachings of advanced liberals, the social gatherings of patriots, and other efforts to secure freedom of speech and of the press, especially in Lima, were long without a historian. But that accomplished Chilian writer, the late Don Benjamin Vicuña Mackenna, collected a mass of materials, and wrote a very interesting history of events preceding the independence

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of Peru, including the campaigns of Goyeneche and Pezuela in Upper Peru;[1] and the abortive attempts at insurrection in Lima itself, and in several provinces.[2] His work is supplemented by Mitre's *Life of General Belgrano*, which was published at Buenos Ayres.[3]

But the first cries for independence were raised at a distance from Lima, where the power of Spain was not so great.[4] The author of the *Lettre aux Espagnols Americains*, which embodied the feelings of his compatriots, had to become a fugitive from South America, and died in London in 1798.[5] He wrote at the suggestion of General Miranda, who was himself one of the earliest and one of the most unfortunate of the soldiers of freedom. His life was written by an Englishman.[6] There are several memoirs of Simon Bolivar, the Liberator of Colombia, the best known being by his aide-de-camp, Colonel Holstein.[7]

Materials for the colonial history of Colombia will be found in the history of the discovery and conquest of Nueva Granada by Colonel Acosta,[8] and in the volume containing the Memoirs of its Viceroys, edited by Garcia y Garcia.[9]

The volumes of Fuñes and Angelis contain the colonial history of Buenos Ayres, which is philosophically treated in the admirable works of Dr. Vicente F. Lopez[10] and Don Luis Dominguez.[11] The former president, Mitre, has written a life of General Belgrano,[12] and there are biographical sketches of San Martin by Gutierrez[13] and others.

[1] [Cf. Manuel Maria Urcullu's *Apuntes para la historia de la revolucion del Alto Perú, hoi Bolivia, por un patriota* (Sucre, 1855). — ED.]

[2] *La Historia de la Independencia del Perú, 1809–1819, por Benjamin Vicuña Mackenna* (Lima, 1860). [An excellent collection of documents on the Peruvian struggle for independence was made by Hipólito Herrera, and published at Lima in 1862, as *El Album de Ayacucho. Coleccion de los principales documentos de la guerra de la independencia del Perú.* Cf. Mariano Felipe Paz Soldan's *Historia del Perú independiente* (Lima, 1868, 1870, etc.); and the *Memoria histórica sobre las operacionas e incidencias de la division libertadora a las órdenes del jeneral Don Juan Antonio Alvarez de Arenales en su segunda compaña a la sierra del Perú en 1821* (Buenos Aïres, 1832). — ED.]

[3] [Bartolomé Mitre's *Historia de Belgrano y de la independencia Argentina* (Buenos Ayres, 1859; cuarta y definitiva edición corregida y aumentada, 1887). Cf. also Mitre's *Estudios históricos sobre la revolucion arjentina: Belgrano y Güemes* (Buenos Ayres, 1864).— ED.]

[4] [One of the latest accounts of Spanish power before its fall is in François Depon's *Voyage à la partie orientale de la tierre firme* (Paris, 1806). Washington Irving is said to have assisted in the English translation (N. Y., 1806; London, 1807). — ED.]

[5] *Lettre aux Espagnols Americains par un de leur Compatriotes* (Philadelphia, 1808), 8vo, pp. 42. There is a translation in Burke's *Additional Reasons* (ed. 1807).

[6] *History of Don F. Miranda's attempt to effect a revolution in So. America, with a life of Miranda by James Briggs* (London, 1809; Boston, 1808, 1810, 1811). [Cf. J. M. Antepara's *South American Emancipation* (London, 1810), John H. Sherman's *General Acc. of Miranda's Expedition* (N. Y., 1808), and Moses Smith's *Adventures and Sufferings during the Miranda Expedition* (Albany, 1814). — ED.]

[7] [*Mémoires de S. Bolivar, par Ducoudray Holstein* (1829; Eng. tr., Boston, 1829; London, 1830). Cf. notice by Caleb Cushing in *North Amer. Review*, Jan., 1829; and other references in *Poole's Index*, i. 147. The work of another member of Bolivar's military family, Tomas C. de Mosquera, *Memorias sobre la vida del libertador Simon Bolivar* (N. Y., 1853), is of less consequence. There is an incomplete *Life of Bolivar*, by Felipe Larrazabal (N. Y., 1866; vol. i. only). Capt. W. T. Adams's *Journal of Voyages to Marguaritta* (Dublin, 1824) describes several interviews with Bolivar. — ED.]

[8] See *ante*, II. 582.

[9] *Relaciones de los vireyes del nuevo reino de Granada, etc., compiladas i publicadas por el Dr. Don José Antonio Garcia y Garcia* (New York, 1869).

There is a map of the viceroyalty of New Granada of the Revolutionary period (1812) in Kerr's *Voyages* (vol. v. p. i).

[10] *Historia de la Republica Argentina, su origen, su revolucion, y su desarrollo politico; por Vicente F. Lopez* (Buenos Ayres, 1883).

[11] *Historia Argentina por Luis Dominguez* (Buenos Ayres, 4th ed., 1870).

[12] *Historia de Belgrano por Bartolomé Mitre* (Buenos Ayres, 4th ed., 1887).

[13] *Bosquejo Biografico del General Don José de San Martin, por Juan Maria Gutierrez* (Buenos Ayres, 1868). [Juan Garcia del Rio, a secretary of San Martin while in Peru, is the author of a condensed memoir, *Biografia del jeneral San Martin, por Ricardo Gual i Jaen* (London, 1823). Cf. B. V. Mackenna's *El jeneral*

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The early history of Chile is contained in the well-known works of Ovalle[1] and Molina,[2] and in the monumental volumes of Claudio Gaye.[3] The war of Chilian independence has found a historian in Don Diego Barros Arana;[4] while several episodes of that stirring period, such as the life of General O'Higgins, the ostracism of the brothers Car-

Don José de San Martin (Santiago, 1863). There appeared in Paris, in 1858, as by "Pruvonena," a work thought to be the labor of José de la Riva Agüero, which excited the animadversions of the South Americans, because of its attacks on San Martin and Bolivar. It was called *Memorias i documentos para la historia de la independencia del Perú i causas del mal éxito que ha tenido ésta.* (Cf. Arana's *Notas*, no. 341.) — ED.]

[1] [Cf. *ante*, Vol. I. p. 576. The history by Cordova y Figueroa, coming down to 1717, has already been mentioned. Cf. *ante*, II. 573. — ED.]

[2] [Juan Ignacio Molina (b. 1740; d. 1824) was a Chilian Jesuit, who, after his expulsion with his order, went to Bologna, and applied himself to writing his *Saggio sulla storia naturale del Chili* (Bologna, 1782) and his *Saggio sulla storia civile del Chili* (Bologna, 1787), the last containing a list of writers on Chile (pp. 324–328). An augmented edition of the first book, *Lo Stesso Libro*, appeared at Bologna, 1810. On publishing his second part, *Storia Civile*, Molina says that he had got on very well with printed books and the Abbé Olivares' MSS. down to 1665; but after that period he had to depend on the personal recollections of others and on such works as he could procure. There is a Spanish version, *Compendio de la historia geografica, natural y civil del reyno de Chile, escrito in Italiano. Primera parte traducida en Español por Domingo Joseph de Arquellada Mendoza* [*Segunda parte por Nicolas de la Cruz y Bahamonde*] (Madrid, 1787, 1795); a German, by J. D. Brandis (Leipzig, 1786); a French, by Gruvel (Paris, 1789); and an English one, made in part by Richard Alsop and in part by Wm. Shaler, appropriating notes from the Spanish and French translations (Middletown, Conn., 1808). This English version, somewhat remodelled, was reprinted in London, 1809.

It seems to be uncertain whether an earlier book, *Compendio della storia del regno del Chile* (Bologna, 1776), was the work of Molina or of Père Vidaurre. Cf. *Notas para una bibliografia de obras anonimas y seudonimas, por Diego Barros Arana* (Santiago, 1882), no. 106. — ED.]

[3] [*Historia fisica y politica de Chile, segun documentos adquiridos en esta republica durante doze años de residencia en ella, y publicada bajo los auspicios del supremo Gobierno*, HISTORIA (Paris, 1854) in eight vols.; DOCUMENTOS (Paris, 1852) in two volumes. There is an accompanying atlas of maps and plates in folio. There are later histories of some importance: José Ignacio Victor Eyzaguirre's *Histoire ecclésiastique, politique, et littéraire du Chili*, as translated by L. Poillon (Lille, 1855), in 3 volumes. B. Menendez's *Manual de historia y cronologia de Chile* (Paris, 1860). The studies of José V. Lastarria in his *Miscelanea* (Valparaiso), and parts of his *Historia Constitucional del medio siglo 1800–1825* (Gante, 1866). But the most considerable is the *Historia jeneral de Chili* of Diego Barros Arana (Santiago, 1884, etc.), in eight volumes. Of the *Historiadores de Chile, coleccion de documentos relativos a la historia nacional* (Santiago, 1861, etc.), eleven volumes had been published up to 1879. Cf. *Biblioteca Beéche*, pp. 547–8. A leading record of the last period of Chilian history which comes within the scope of the present chapter is B. V. Mackenna's *Don Diego Portales, con mas de 500 documentos inéditos* (Valparaiso, 1863). For the bibliography of Chile the essential help is got from Ramon Briseño's *Estadística bibliográfica de la literatura Chilena* (Santiago, 1862, 1879), in two volumes. — ED.]

[4] Diego Barros Arana's *Historia jeneral de la independencia de Chile* (Santiago, 1854–58; Paris, 1856), in four volumes, is considered the best narrative for the period 1810–1820. [An augmented second edition of the first volume was published in 1863. The period of Chilian independence can be further studied in the following books: M. L. Amunátegui's *Los precursores de la independencia de Chile* (Santiago, 1870). Melchoir Martinez's *Memoria histórica, sobre la revolucion de Chile, desde el cautiverio de Fernando VII. hasta 1814, escrita de orden del Rei* (Valparaiso, 1848) is a documentary collection of importance for the early stages of the revolution. Miguel Luis Amunátegui's *La reconquista Española, apuntes para la historia de Chile, 1814 i 1817* (Santiago, 1851). José de Ballesteros's *Revista de la guerra de la independencia de Chile, 1813–1826* (Santiago, 1851), has a good reputation. Cf. *Journal of a residence in Chili by a young American* [J. F. Coffin] *during the revolutionary scenes of 1817–19* (Boston, 1823).

Lady Maria Dundas Graham, in her *Journal of a residence in Chile, 1822* (London, 1824), says that the patriots, after Rancagua, burnt all public papers to prevent their falling into the hands of the Spaniards, so that up to 1817 there are no such records in Chile, and nothing was printed till the middle of 1818. She recounts in her introduction what she could learn from O'Higgins and others. Later documents are given in her appendix.

Other documentary sources are noted in B. V.

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rera,[1] and *Revelaciones Intimas* of General San Martin, are due to the pen of that most prolific Chilian author, Vicuña Mackenna. A short life of General O'Higgins, approved by his family, was published at Lima. An elaborate life has also appeared.[2]

DIEGO BARROS ARANA.*

The history of the achievements of that fleet, commanded and officered by Englishmen, which conveyed General San Martin and his army to Peru, was written by its commander. Lord Cochrane (then Earl of Dundonald) wrote a narrative of his South American services,[3] and after his death a biography was published by his son, the present Earl, and Mr. H. Fox Bourne.[4] But the most interesting story of the war of independence in Chile and Peru has been told from the letters and papers of General Miller,[5] who participated in all the operations from the passage of the Andes to Ayacucho, both by sea and land. These events, from the Spanish point of view, were narrated by Terragas, and by General Garcia Camba, who criticised the story as told by Miller.[6]

Colonel Vicente de Ballivian has published a series of official documents relating to the history of Bolivia during the colonial period, including some curious annals of the city of Potosi.[7] He added a valuable bibliography.

Clements R. Markham

Mackenna's *La Guerra a muerte: Memoria sobre las ultimas campañas de la independencia de Chile, 1819 a 1824, escrita sobre documentos enteramente inéditos* (Santiago, 1868). — ED.]

[1] [*El ostracismo de los Carreras, los jenerales José Miguel i Juan José i el coronel Luis Carrera; episodio de la independencia de Sud America* (Santiago, 1857). It has a map. — ED.]

[2] *La corona del Héroe: Recopilacion de datos y documentos para perpetuar la memoria del jeneral Don Bernardo O'Higgins, con una introd. por Don Benj. Vicuña Mackenna* (Santiago, 1872). B. V. Mackenna's *El ostracismo del jeneral Don Bernardo O'Higgins, escrite sobre documentos inéditos i noticias autenticas* (Valparaiso, 1860). Miguel Luis Amunátegui's *La Dictadura de O'Higgins* (Santiago, 1853).

[3] *Narrative of services in the liberation of Chili, Peru, and Brazil, by the Earl of Dundonald* (London, 2 vols., 1859), — translated into Spanish under Cochrane's direction (London, 1859), and annotated by Manuel Bilboa, printed at Lima in 1863. Ignacio Zenteno published in refutation *Documentos justificativos sobre la espedicion libertadora del Perú.* (Santiago, 1861).

[4] *Life of Thomas Lord Cochrane, 10th Earl of Dundonald, by Thomas, 11th Earl of Dundonald, and H. Fox Bourne* (8vo, London, 2 vols., 1869).

[5] *Memoirs of General Miller, in the service of the Republic of Peru, by John Miller* (London, 2d ed., enlarged, 1829). [With an appendix of documents. The author used General Miller's papers, which show his participancy for ten years in the conflicts in La Plata, Chile, and Peru. There is a Spanish translation by Gen. J. M. de Torrijos, whose preface is translated in the 2d English edition. J. P. and W. P. Robertson in their *Letters from South America* (London, 1843), go over a good deal of Miller's career. — Ed.]

[6] Camba's *Memorias para la historia de las armas Españolas en el Perú* (Madrid, 1846).

[7] *Archivio Boliviano. Coleccion de documentos relativos a la Historia de Bolivia publicados por Vicente de Ballivian y Róxas* (Paris, 1872). [Add to this: Ramon Sotomayor Valdes's *Estudio histórico de Bolivia bajo la administracion del jeneral don José Maria Achá, con una introduccion que contiene el compendio de la guerra de la independencia i de los gobiernos de dicha República hasta 1861* (Santiago de Chile, 1874). — ED.]

* After a likeness prefixed to his *Historia Jeneral de Chile* (Santiago, 1884).

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EDITORIAL NOTE ON

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BRAZIL.

A VERY excellent bibliography of the history and geography of Brazil has been prepared under the supervision of Dr. B. F. Ramiz Galvão, with a supplement by João de Saldanha de Gama, which was published in two handsome volumes at Rio de Janeiro in 1881, as *Catalogo da Exposição de Historia do Brazil realizada pela Bibliotheca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro*. It is conveniently arranged by general topics and geographical divisions. A section on the maps is given in vol. i. p. 128; and on the bibliographies in vol. ii. p. 1100. It supersedes all other lists of *Braziliana*, though Trübner's *Bibliotheca Brazilica*, 1500–1879, London, 1879 (1000 entries) deserves notice.

The oldest description of Brazil is that which makes part of the text of Beneventanus in the Roman Ptolemy of 1508. The earliest comprehensive account of the region now known as Brazil, is found in a book which is scarcely familiar to scholars in its original shape, but three or four copies being known. There is a copy, however, in the Carter-Brown Library (*Catalogue*, i. 307). Rich priced it in his day at £4 4*s*. This is Magalhaẽs de Gandavo's *Historia da Provincia de Sãcta Cruz a qui vulgarmẽte chamamos Brazil*, which appeared at Lisbon in 1576. There was a preliminary issue of its first book in 1570 (?). (*Catalogo de Historia do Brazil: Bibliotheca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro*, nos. 5–6). A French version was included by Ternaux-Compans in his *Voyages* published in Paris (vol. ii.) 1837. Field (*Indian Bibliography*, no. 998) speaks of the book as giving the earliest account which we have of the Brazilian natives.[1] The Grenville Catalogue, in describing a copy of Magalhaẽs, points out how the Portuguese bibliographies speak of its curious and erudite character, and of its rarity being such that Southey had apparently not heard of it. Ternaux looked upon it as one of the most remarkable treatises upon the New World produced in the sixteenth century. An abridgment of it, called *Tratado da Terra do Brazil*, was published in 1576, and is reprinted in the *Noticias das Nacãos ultramarinhas* (vol. iv. no. 4). The *Tratado descriptivo do Brazil em* 1587, of Gabriel Soares de Souza, was annotated and published by Varnhagen at Rio de Janeiro, in 1851. (*Catalogo de Historia do Brazil, Bibliotheca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro*, no. 10.) Purchas, in 1625, in his *Pilgrimes*, printed in English an account of Brazil which he assigned to Manoel Tristão; but the original Portuguese *Do Principio e origem dos Indios do Brazil*, was printed at Rio de Janeiro in 1881, and its editor, J. C. de Abreu, assigns its authorship, apparently with good reason, to Fernão Cardim, a Jesuit. (Cf. *Catalogo de Historia do Brazil, Bibliotheca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro*, no. 12.)

The oldest general account which Southey quotes is Sebastian da Rocha Pitta's *Historia da America Portugueza*, printed at Lisbon in 1730, which he speaks of as a valuable antecedent work to his own, simply because there was no other. (Carter-Brown, iii. 460.) A second edition appeared at Lisbon in 1880. Southey's own *History of Brazil* appeared in three volumes between 1810 and 1819,—a book which Southey himself thought well of, which interested Scott, but which all have not found readable. Varnhagen says that Southey's work is rather "Mémoires pour écrire l'histoire de Brésil." A Portuguese version of Southey, made by Dr. Luiz Joaquim de Oliviera e Castro, and annotated by Dr. Fernandes Pinheiro, was published at Rio de Janeiro in 1862.

[1] In 1550, fifty Indians from Brazil exhibited their war dances and combats before Catherine de Médicis at Rouen; and an account of the ceremony, published at Rouen the next year, was reprinted at Paris in 1850: Ferdinand Denis' *Une Fête Brésilienne célébrée a Rouen en* 1550, *suivie d'un fragment du XVIe siècle roulant sur la théogonie des anciens peuples du Brésil et des poésies en langue tupique de Christovam Valente*, Paris, 1850. (Cf. Sabin, v. p. 343; Gaffarel, *Brésil Français*, p. 130.) Gabriel Gravier printed in the *Bulletin de la Société Normande de Géographie*, in 1880–81, some papers which were published separately at Paris in 1881, as *Etude sur le Sauvage du Brésil* (63 pp.). Varnhagen treats of the relations of the first colonists of Brazil with the natives, in his *Historia do Brazil*, 1877, sec. xiii. C. R. Markham, in his compilation on *Expeditions into the Valley of the Amazons* (Hakluyt Society, 1859), has given an annotated list of the tribes of the great valley, drawn from the sources which he enumerates. Richard F. Burton, in his Introduction on the Indians of Brazil, prefixed to his volume of *Hans Stade*, published by the Hakluyt Society, says that Varnhagen was the earliest to solve the ethnological confusion which pervades the earlier writers, upon whom Southey had depended. Burton (p. lxxvi.) enumerates the principal sources of the sixteenth century. Cf. *Cat. Hist. Brasil, Bibl. Nac.*, ii. p. 997.

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John Armitage's *Hist. of Brazil, 1808–1831* (London, 1836), is a continuation of Southey, and it was translated into Portuguese (Rio, 1837). There are less important English histories by Andrew Grant (London, 1809), and by James Henderson (London, 1821). A considerable portion of Robert Grant Watson's *Spanish and Portuguese South America during the colonial period* (London, 1884) is given to tracing the progress of Brazil down to the early part of this century.

The most considerable study of the early French connection with the country is found in Paul Gaffarel's *Histoire du Brésil Français*, 1878, in regard to which Gravier published an "Examen Critique" in the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris*, November, 1878. Joseph François Lafitau gave a French view of the Portuguese relations in his *Histoire des Découvertes et Conquêtes des Portuguais dans le Nouveau Monde* (Paris, 1733, 1734, 1736), in four volumes. The earliest French specific historical narrative is Alphonse de Beauchamp's *Histoire du Brésil, 1500–1810* (Paris, 1815), of which there are Portuguese translations (Lisbon, 1817, 1834; Rio, 1818, 1819). Later works are Charles Reybaud's *Le Colonisation de Brésil: Documents officiels* (Paris, 1858) and Baron Edouard de Septenville's *Brésil sous la domination portuguaise* (Paris, 1872).

Among the Portuguese writers the earlier periods are examined by Varnhagen, a writer particularly competent, in his *Historia geral do Brazil*, 1854; his conclusions, however, are in some respects questioned by D'Avezac in his *Considérations géographiques sur l'histoire du Brésil*, published originally in the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris*, May and June, 1857. In the same periodical, March and April, 1858, Varnhagen defended his views in a paper, which was also published separately as *Examen de quelques points de l'histoire géographique du Brésil*. Under his title as Visconde de Porto Seguro, he published his *Historia geral do Brazil antes da sua separação e independencia de Portugal* in a second edition (2 vols.) at Rio de Janeiro, 1877. See an enumeration of the modern histories of Brazil in *Catalogo de Historia do Brazil, Bibliotheca Nacional*, p. 455, and *Supplement*, p. 1649. The best known of the Portuguese are those of Francisco Solano Constancio (Paris, 1839), General J. I. de Abreu Lima (Rio, 1848), and José Pedro Xavier Pinheiro (Bahia, 1854). A. J. de Mello Moraes has been a prolific writer on his country's history, and among his writings may be named his *Corographica historica* (Rio, 1858–63), an encyclopedic work in five volumes; his *Brazil historico* (Rio, 1866–67), with its mass of original documents on the discovery and settlement; his *Historia do Brazil* (Rio, 1871–73), in two volumes; and his *Cronica geral e minuciosa do Imperio do Brazil desde a descoberta do Novo Mondo até o anno de 1879* (Rio, 1879).

The most valuable source for the history of Brazil among its periodicals is the *Revista Trimensal de historia e geographia ou Jornal do Instituto Historico Geographico Brazileiro*, begun in 1839.

The *Catalogo de Historia do Brazil*, above referred to, is conveniently subdivided, so that the student readily discerns the extent of the documentary sources (i. 475, and also under minor heads); the material for the history of the separate provinces (i. 463); the maps tracing discoveries (i. 128; *Supplemento*, 1628) or elucidating military campaigns (i. 969); histories of campaigns, battles, sieges, etc. (i. 923); early voyages (i. 79), etc. The best bibliography of the Dutch West India Company and its connection with Brazilian history is to be found in G. M. Asher's *Bibliog. and Hist. Essay on the Dutch books and pamphlets relating to New Netherland and to the Dutch West India Company* (Amsterdam, 1854–67).[1]

So far as the history of Brazil is connected with the explorations that finally defined its coast line, the subject is treated in another section of the present volume, on the "Historical Chorography of South America."[2]

It was not till after 1530 that the settlements took shape and captaincies began to be created along the coast, and Rio de Janeiro, San Vicent, Porto Seguro, Bahia, Pernambuco, Maranham, and other designations of these divisionary regions begin to appear in the accounts of the country; and at last, in 1549, De Sousa, with his seat at Bahia, was made governor-general over all.[3] It was he who introduced Nobrega and his Jesuits, and it is from the letters of this order that we get some of our best historical material, as contained in the *Avisi particolari delle Indie di Portugallo* (Roma, 1552), and the *Novi Avisi* (1553).[4] We derive also considerable help from the descriptions of Hans Stade (1547–55), elsewhere referred to; as well from the contributions of Thevet and Lery to the story of Villagagnon's company at Rio de Janeiro, till the Portuguese

[1] Cf. *ante*, IV. 498.

[2] See a later page.

[3] Bahia remained the capital till 1763. For plans of San Salvador (Bahia), see one of 1625 in Varnhagen's *Hist. do Brazil* (1877); the "Baya de Todos os Sanctos," with the city, in De Laet's *West Ind. Comp.* (1644), and a view; another view in Frezier's *Relation du Voyage* (1717); and those in Prévost (xiv.) and the *Allg. Hist. der Reisen*, xvi.

[4] Cf. also *Copia de unas Cartas de algunos padres de la Comp. de Jesus que escriuieron de la India, Japon, y Brasil* (Lisbon, 1555), — Leclerc, no. 2723.

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finally acquired permanent possession of the place in 1567, and named it San Sebastian. In 1570 the Portuguese captaincies were generally flourishing. The French were trading at Paraiba with a view to getting a foothold on that part of the coast, and with their usual skill they got the Indians on their side in the conflict which they had with the Portuguese. The English hovered about in their ships, and Cavendish harried the coast, but with no great success. Hakluyt and Purchas preserve some reports of eye-witnesses during these years, and tell us what they can of Cavendish and his exploits. In 1594 a large British expedition under James Lancaster endeavored to get at Olinda, the capital of Pernambuco, but they failed in that, though they got some booty, and escaped the dangers of the Portuguese fire-ships.

We find an account of French observations in a *Voyage et Navigation aux Indes Orientales et au Brésil* (Paris, 1611, 1616, and enlarged, 1679). In 1612 the French attempted to colonize Maranham, and tidings of it confronted a Portuguese expedition sent to push their explorations on the Amazon.[1] The two parties measured strength for a while, but then determined to leave the settlement of their respective rights to their home governments. Events, however, drifted to the advantage of the Portuguese, and Maranham was permanently secured for them.

We have an account of these northern regions in the narrative of a Benedictine monk, printed at Paris in 1615; but it is now only accessible in the *Voyage dans le nord du Brésil fait durant les années 1613 et 1614 par le père Yves d'Évereux. Publié d'après l'exemplaire unique conservé à la Bibliothèque impériale de Paris. Avec une introduction et des notes par Ferdinand Denis* (Leipzig, 1864). The original title given in the body of the work is as follows: *Svitte de l'Histoire des choses plus memorables aduenues en Maragnan ès années 1613 & 1614. Second Traité.* Paris, MDCXV.

The Dutch had begun before this to trade north of the Amazon, and when the Portuguese attacked them and occupied the country, the latter made a new captaincy of it, and called it Pará. The Jesuits coming at this time to Maranham, set themselves also in opposition to the Portuguese, in their endeavors to mitigate the severity of the Portuguese treatment of the Indians.[2] So it was that, with the opposition of an order which knew how to retain a strong hold on the native mind, the Portuguese were not as powerful in all internal relations as was desirable, when they found themselves forced upon a long war with the Dutch, who through the agency of the West India Company were determined to establish themselves on the coast at as many points as possible. The first movement of the invaders was to attack (1623) San Salvador or Bahia de Todos los Santos, which they easily occupied. There is a journal of the transaction attached to an anonymous *Reys-Boeck van het rijcke Brasilien* (1624), and contemporary accounts, more or less the same, are known: "Beschreibung von Eroberung der Statt S. Salvator in Brasilia" (1624), in De Bry, xiii.; again in Hulsius, xxvi.; Purchas's *Pilgrimes*, ii. 1858; Ternaux-Compans' *Archives des Voyages*, i. 452.

In March, 1625, a large fleet, sent out by united Spain and Portugal, under the command of Juan Fajaro and Fadrique de Toledo, appeared off the port; and after the Dutch fleet in the harbor had been sunk the town capitulated. On May 22d a Dutch succoring fleet appeared, but found it safer to sail northward, whence after mishaps it returned to Holland. The Spanish fleet, meanwhile, leaving a garrison, also sailed for Europe, experiencing still greater disasters on the way. There are serviceable contemporary accounts of these transactions: —

Restauracion de la ciudad del Salador i Bahia de Todos Sanctos en la provincia del Brasil por las armas de Don Philippe IV. (Madrid, 1628; in Portuguese, with notes, Bahia, 1847).

A *Relacion* of Francisco de Auendaño y Vilela (Seville, 1625).

In 1627 the Dutch Admiral Heyn, with another Dutch fleet, retook the place and made some reprisals on the Portuguese marine. We note in Ternaux-Compans' *Archives* (i. 219), "La prise de pleusieurs vaisseaux de guerre et de marchandise sur les Portugais par la flotte hollandoise près de la ville de Baye au Brésil" (1627). Cf. Engelbert Gerritz's *Leven en Daden der Zeehelden Heemskert en Hein* (1825).

It was on Heyn's return voyage that he made capture of the Spanish bullion fleet, which has been mentioned elsewhere.[3]

The Dutch now changed their place of attack. In 1629 they appeared off Olinda. Their fleet had rendezvoused at the Cape de Verde islands, whence word had come to the Portuguese of their intention to attack them, but the Portuguese failed to be adequately prepared. The Dutch, by a land attack, captured the place, and then laid siege to the forts St. Francisco and St. George, which falling, the Dutch entered and wholly possessed the harbor.[4] The lines of communication between Recife and Olinda, now both within the Dutch control, afforded the Por-

[1] The history of early explorations of the Amazon is traced in Vol. II., *ante*.

[2] Cf., for instance, the Portuguese persecutions of a leading missionary as set forth in A. de Barros' *Vida do Apostolico padre Ant. Vieyra* (Lisbon, 1746).

[3] *Ante*, chap. iv.

[4] There is a panoramic view of the attack (1630) in Gottfriedt's *Newe Welt* (1655), p. 626.

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tuguese opportunities for keeping up a bushranging warfare, which went on with little cessation. Fleets to relieve each side appeared, but spent their energies in fighting each other. Finally the Dutch burned Olinda and concentrated at Recife. So the war dragged out, with alternation of success and dismay for either side, until at last the Portuguese gaining a little advantage, the Dutch sent out one of their ablest commanders, the Count of Nassau, giving him full powers to complete the conquest and turn it to account.

The first tidings of the capture of Olinda, as it reached Holland, is in a *Copie van de Missive* sent by General Weerdenburch (Amsterdam, 1630; reprinted Utrecht, 1630).

Johan Baers' *Olinda inghenomen door D. v. Weerdenburg* (Amst., 1638), is an account, by a member of the expedition, of the taking of Olinda.

Pedro Cardena wrote in 1634 an account of Brazil, where he had long lived, which we only know in a German translation with notes by Christian Leister, *Beschreibung des Portugiesischen Amerika* (Braunschweig, 1780).

JOHANNES MAURITIUS, PRINCEPS NASSAVIÆ.*

* After an engraving in Caspar van Baerle's *Brasilienische Geschichte* (Cleve, 1659). There is another in Netscher's *Les Hollandais au Brésil* (La Haye, 1853). The exploits of Maurice are also celebrated in Plante's *Rerum ab Maritio comite Nassaviæ gestarum descriptio poetica* (Lugduni Batavorum, 1647). Cf. Ludwig Driesen's *Leben des Fürsten Johann Moritz von Nassau-Siegen* (Berlin, 1849).

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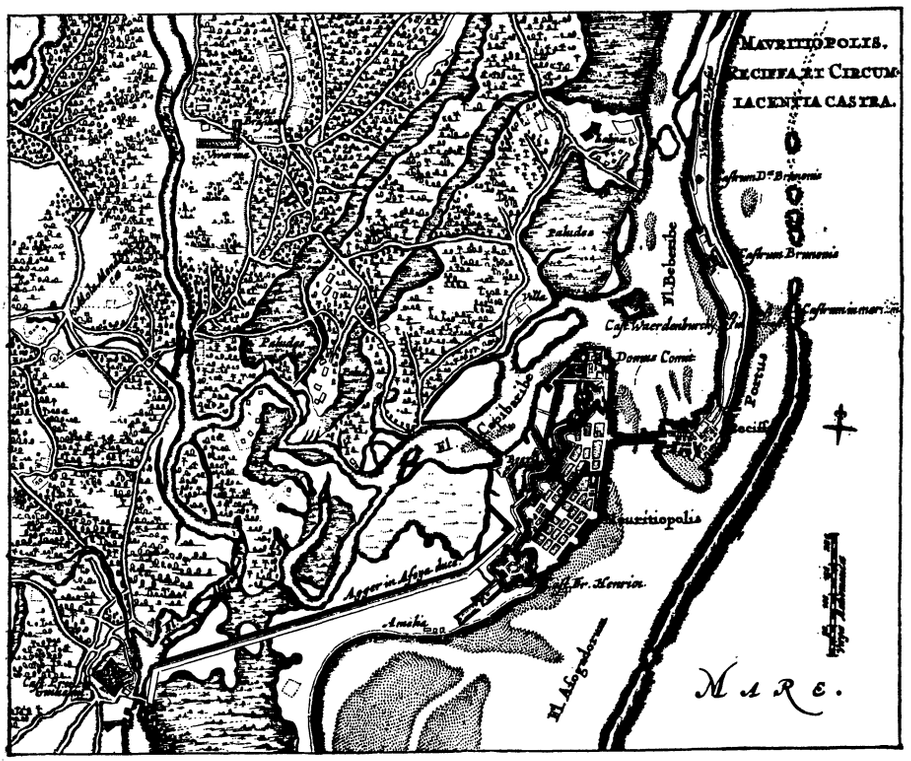
The Count of Nassau reached Recife Jan., 1637. He at once entered upon an active campaign. He retook Porto Calvo;[1] he built Fort Mauritz on the San Francisco River, and rebuilt Olinda. He attacked Bahia unsuccessfully. Cf. a Dutch *Cort Verhael* on the land and naval operations near Bahia (Nov. 19, 1639–Feb. 28, 1640).[2] In order to induce a Dutch immigration, the West India Company threw open the trade of Brazil, and gave attention to the manufacture of sugar in the captured provinces, but they did not equal the energy of the Portuguese in such mercantile enterprises.

Nassau built himself a palace, and laid out a new town near Recife, which he called Mauritius, or Mauritiopolis. But the times were far from as peaceful as such adornments might signify. The Portuguese, under Count Datorne, hung with a fleet on the coast, but they accomplished nothing. On the land the two peoples devastated each other's property as they could get a chance.

A revolution in Portugal restored the Duke of Braganza to the throne. When the news reached Brazil, both sides were encouraged. Those of the Portuguese who were loyal to the Braganzas looked for help. The Dutch thought that the rivalries of the two Portuguese parties must inure somehow to the benefit of the Hollanders. Braganza had his motives for entering



NOTE. — After a plate in Caspar van Baerle's *Brasilienische Geschichte* (Cleve, 1659). It is also in the Latin ed., *Rerum per Octennium in Brasilia* (Clivis, 1660). Varnhagen (*Hist. do Brazil*, 1877) gives a facsimile of an old plan of Recife. Views of Olinda and Recife are given in De Laet's *West Indische Compagnie* (Leyden, 1644). A plan of Olinda and a map of the region is in Baelæus' *Rerum gestarum . . . Historia* (1647). There is also a plan of Mauritsstadt and Recife on the title of the Dutch edition of Pierre Moreau (Amsterdam, 1652). There is a plan and view of Recife in Claude Barthélemy Morisot's *Relations de l'isle de Madagascar et du Brésil* (Paris, 1651), and others of Olinda in Ambros Reichsshoffer's *Brasilianisch- und West Indianische Reise Beschreibung* (Strassburg, 1677). Others of both places are in Nieuhoff's *Zee en Lant Reise* (Amsterdam, 1682). There is a view and plan of Maurizea in Giovanni Giuseppi's *Istoria delle Guerre del Regno del Brasile* (Roma, 1698). A modern plan of the port of Pernambuco, showing the reefs, is in Henry Koster's *Travels in Brazil* (London, 1816).

[1] There is a plan in Baelæus, no. 19.

[2] Carter-Brown, ii. 472.

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into a ten years' truce with the Dutch, French, and English; but Holland purposely protracted the negotiations till Nassau could secure Bahia and Maranham. It was no easy task, however, for Nassau to gain much in the face of Portuguese revolts, and his later rule brought him scant success and no credit. His treachery and deceit failed of its purpose, and in 1644 he returned to Holland.

The principal work on Nassau's government is Caspar Baelæus's (or Caspar van Baerle's) *Rerum per octennium in Brasilia et alibi nuper gestarum sub præfectura Comitis J. Mauritii, Nassoviæ comitis Historia* (Amsterdam, 1647; 2d ed. Clivis, 1660; in German, Cleve, 1659, 1684).

Johan Nieuhof was in the country for nine years, in the employ of the West India Company, and his *Zee en Lant Reise* (Amsterdam, 1682; in English in Pinkerton's *Voyages*, xiv. pp. 697–881) covers the period 1640–1649, extending beyond Nassau's term.

The withdrawal of Nassau, and the less conciliatory measures of his successors, induced a serious revolt under the lead of a rich Portuguese merchant, Joam Fernandes Vieira,[1] who finally succeeded in luring the Dutch into the country, where, at the battle of Tapicura, he completely routed them, Aug. 3, 1645. Other successes followed on the Portuguese side, and it was not long before the insurgent leader was in a position to threaten Recife and Olinda.

Meanwhile affairs were complicated by advices from Lisbon. The Portuguese king dreaded an alliance between Spain and the Dutch, and was anxious to avert it by conciliatory conduct towards Holland. His consequent orders were enough to show Fernandes that he was not to be sustained in his vigorous onsets against the Dutch. Hesitating to obey the royal orders, the faction of the king made an attempt to kill him. In Europe some diplomatic fence and not a little courteous deceit were going on between the Portuguese ambassador Francisco de Sousa and the government of the States; but it all ended in open war. The Dutch sent a fleet and 6000 troops to succor Recife, where it arrived in 1646. Two years later 6000 more troops were sent over; but the great preponderance of the Dutch in the field did not prevent the Portuguese leaders, Fernandes and Vidal, gaining over them a victory on the hillsides not far from Recife, and it was not long before the Portuguese occupied Olinda.

There is a "Histoire de ce qui c'est passé en la guerre faite au pays du Brezil entre les Portugais et les Hollandais, 1644–1648, avec la carte et description du Recif par Pierre Moreau," contained in *Relations veritables et curieuses de Madagascar et du Brésil; avec l'histoire de la dernière guerre faite au Brésil entre les Portugais et les Hollandais* (Paris, 1651). A Dutch translation of Moreau appeared at Amsterdam, 1652: *Beschryving van de Berverten der Portuguezen in Brasil.* The *Journael ofter Kort discours notende de rebellye der Portugesen, 1645* (Arnheim, 1647) is an important source of the Portuguese success.

A Portuguese Brazil Company was soon created, and this strengthened the hands of the Portuguese in various ways. It sent a fleet to succor Fernandes, but when it arrived it found that this leader had won a second victory over the Dutch forces, on the old battlefield near the Guararape hills. Events all converged towards a successful close of the war for the Portuguese, and attacking Recife by sea and land, that redoubtable port fell into their hands in 1654, and this practically ended the long struggle. The Portuguese were at last masters.

The general literature of the war is extensive, and it can be conveniently surveyed in sections of the *Catalogo de Historia do Brazil* (vol. i. pp. 484, 494; *Supplemento*, pp. 1653, 1656, etc.). So far as the Dutch chronicled its events, the titles can be found in Asher and in Muller's *Americana* (1872), nos. 185–286.

There are a few important contributions of more or less general scope before the Portuguese achieved their crowning success: —

Relations veritables et curieuses de l'isle de Madagascar et du Brésil (Paris, 1651).

Matthias van den Broeck's *Journael . . . wegen de revolte van de Portuguese in Brasiel* (Amsterdam, 1651). It has a view of Pernambuco (Recife) and the sea-fight. Richard Fleckno, the English dramatist, visited Brazil not long before this, and we have his observations in his *Relation of ten years' Travells* (London, 1654?).

Perhaps the best account near the events is Duarte da Albuquerque Coello's *Memorias diarias de la guerra del Brasil* (Madrid, 1654; in Portuguese, with annotations, Rio, 1855).

Later we have: —

Francisco de Brito Freyre's *Nova Lusitania, historia da guerra brasilica* (Lisboa, 1675).

Luis de Menenez, Conde da Ericeyra's *Historia de Portugal restaurado* (Lisbon, 1679, 1710; 2d vol. 1698; new ed. 1751–59, in 4 vols.) is of importance for the period 1640 to 1668.

The period 1624–54 is covered in Father Raphael de Jesus's *Castrioto Lusitano, ou historia da guerra entre o Brazil e a Hollanda* (Paris, 1844, — original ed., Lisbon, 1679).

The war has some individualized expositions in two works of the present day: —

P. M. Netscher's *Les Hollandais au Brésil: notice historique sur les Pays-Bas et le Brésil au 17e siècle* (La Haye, 1853).

[1] There is a likeness of Fernandes Vieira in *Castrioto Lusitano: Parte I. Entrepresa e restauração de Pernambuco e das capitanias confinantes* (Lisboa, 1679).

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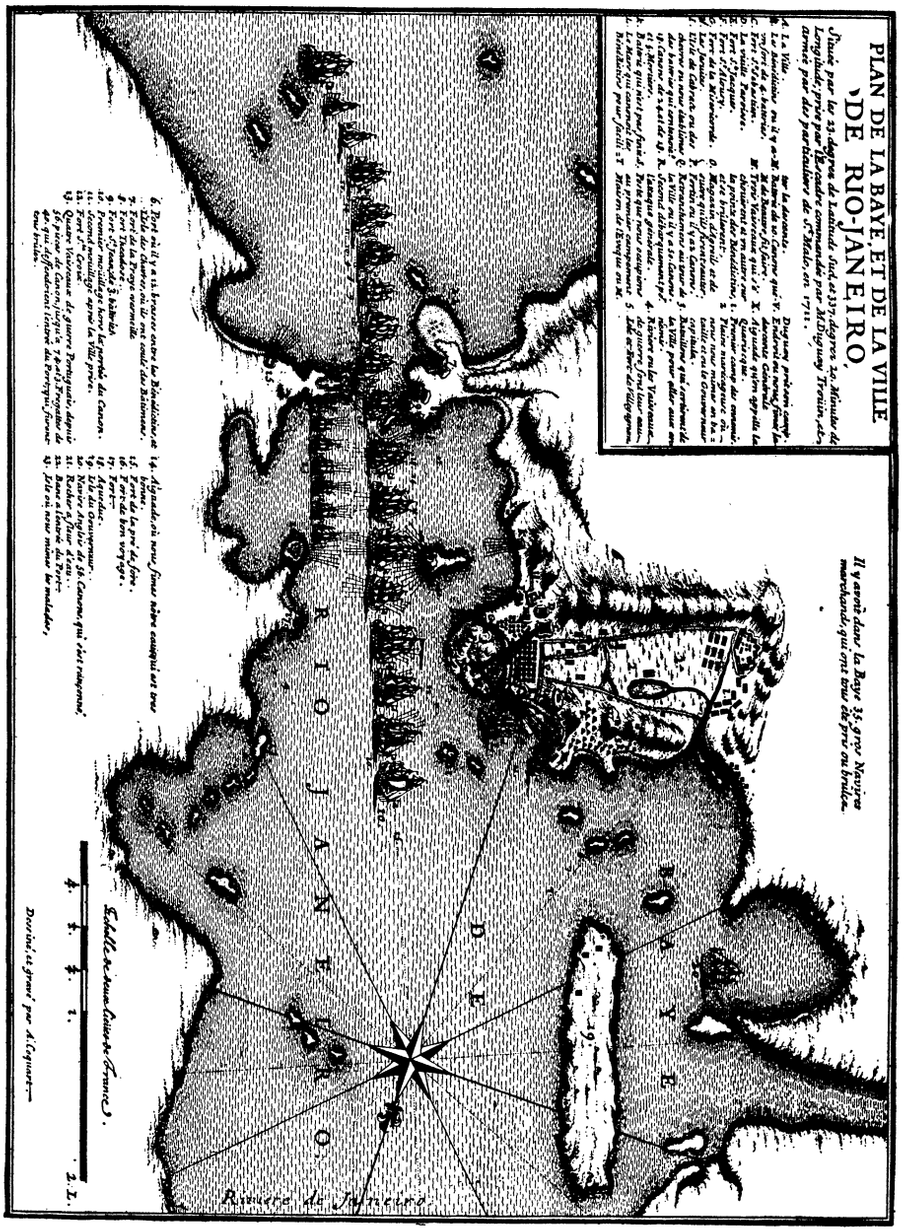

ATTACK ON RIO DE JANEIRO, 1711.*

* From the *Mémoires de M. du Guay-Trouin* (Amsterdam, 1740). There is a fac-simile map in Varnhagen's *Hist. do Brazil* (1877), p. 80; also see Sieur François Frogers's *Relation of a Voyage, 1695–97* (London, 1798), and Giuseppi's *Istoria delle Guerre del Regno del Brasile* (Roma, 1698), lib. vi. 155. Cf. José de Souza's *Memorias historicas do Rio de Janeiro* (Rio, 1820, etc.), in eight volumes; and Balthazar da Silva's *Annaes do Rio de Janeiro contendo a descoberta e conquista deste paiz, a fundação da cidade* (Rio, 1834–35), in seven quarto volumes. Cf. other titles in *Cat. de Hist. do Brazil*, i. p. 471.

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Varnhagen's *Historia das lutas com os hollandezes do Brazil desde 1624 a 1654* (Vienna, 1871; new ed. improved, Lisbon, 1872), which led to a pamphlet controversy between Netscher and Varnhagen (1873–74).

The Portuguese confirmed in their possession of Brazil, a difference soon began between the courts of Lisbon and Madrid as to the bounds to be settled upon as dividing their South American realms. It was manifest that the old bull of Alexander VI, establishing a line of demarcation, was not going to satisfy Portugal under the new conditions; but the question of its validity was seriously discussed in 1681.[1]

This was but the beginning of the disputes which lasted as long as each power had a foothold on the continent.[2]

An insurrection which took place in 1683–84 in Maranham raised a fear for a while that the neighboring French in Guiana would become involved, but an expedition sent out by the king in 1685, under Gomez Freyre, rapidly quelled the rising.

The finding of gold in 1691 in the southern parts of the country changed the centre of population, and, sending a new tide of immigration thither, it gave Rio de Janeiro an importance as the outlet of the new treasure which it had not before had, and ultimately (1763) caused the transfer to that magnificent bay of the seat of the general government of the country. A supposition that the product of the mines was laid up in great store in Rio excited the cupidity of the French, and they resolved to attack the town. They made a foolhardy raid from their fleet in 1710, and the imbecility of the Portuguese commander did not prevent the invading force being entoiled in the streets of the town and captured. Little mercy was shown to the prisoners; and mercantile eagerness in the French ports, with governmental patronage, soon caused a fleet for reprisals and other gain to be dispatched under the famous French sea-leader, René du Guay-Trouin. He arrived off the bay Sept. 11, 1711, and found a Portuguese fleet had just preceded him, and was within. Its commander lacked courage, and beached and fired his ships. His spirit pervading the garrisons of the forts, they were speedily captured and the town occupied. The French admiral soon exacted a large ransom for the town, and, departing with his plunder, he sought to lay Bahia under contribution, but failed. Thence recrossing the ocean, and encountering much peril and disaster, he reached home; and still, despite his later misfortunes, was enabled to pay a profit of almost a hundred per cent. into the hands of the expectant merchants.

The documentary sources on the French side of this expedition are given in Eugène Sue's *Histoire de la Marine française* (v. 300). Cf. Du Guay-Trouin's *Mémoires* (Amsterdam, 1748); Frédéric Koenig's *Du Guay-Trouin* (Tours, 1876); Norman's *Corsairs of France* (p. 231); and the titles in the *Catal. de Hist. do Brazil* (i. 516). The Treaty of Utrecht (1713) came opportunely to confirm the Portuguese in their possessions, and to stay the French cupidity.

A frenzy for the newly found diamond fields soon led expeditions to roam or tarry in the interior, and added to the allurements of gold mines, which of late had incited adventurous spirits to push into the interior. Cf. Nuno Marquez Pereira's *Compendio Narrativo do Peregrino da America* (Lisbon, 1728, 1750).

During the period now ensuing till the coming of the royal house of Portugal, the titles are numerous, and may be found in the *Catal. de Hist. do Brazil* (i. pp. 494, 522; *Supplemento*, 1656, 1658, etc.). The settlement of the bounds with Spain on the south had forced a war with the Guaranis to push them beyond the Uruguay. The interference and not always concealed hostility of the Jesuits had brought on events (1759–1767) which finally ended in their expulsion.[3] A Spanish fleet in 1777 had captured St. Catharine's Island[4] and the southern parts of the peninsula formed by the ocean and the Uruguay; but under a treaty between the two powers, brought about by Florida Blanca, while the future territory of Uruguay was confirmed to

[1] Cf. Calvo's *Recueil des Traités*, i. pp. 1, 190, for the bull and its history. See also *ante*, Vol. II. p. 13, 14, 43, 45, 108, 441, 592. The bull has recently been printed from Eden in the *Catholic Historical Researches*, Oct., 1886, p. 71, and in Howley's *Eccles. Hist. Newfoundland*, p. 66. Cf. Navarrete's *Opúsculos*, ii. 47; *American Catholic Quarterly Rev.*, iii. 339.

[2] The negotiations are best followed in Calvo, *Recueil des Traités*, ii. 242 (1750, etc.); iii. 128, with an historical notice; iv. 126, 333; vii.; viii.; ix.; x. Documents relating to the bounds of Brazil are noted in the *Catalogo de Hist. do Brazil* (i. p. 892), and maps appertaining (i. p. 178).

[3] The story of the Jesuit missions is an interesting one. Cf. titles in the *Catal. de Hist. do Brazil* (i. 784), and Watson's *Spanish and Portuguese So. America*, ii. ch. 5. Cf. Simaõ de Vasconcellos' *Crónica da Companhia de Jesus do estado do Brazil* (Lisbon, 1663), — the introduction of which appeared also separately as *Noticias curiosas e necessarias sobre o Brasil* (Lisbon, 1668), — and the same author's *Vida do Padre Joseph de Anchieta* (Lisbon, 1672); and Manoel da Fonseca's *Vida do Padre Belchior de Pontes* (Lisbon, 1752).

[4] Cf. Frezier's *Relation du Voyage* (Amsterdam, 1717) for a map.

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Spain, the island of St. Catharine's was restored to Portugal.

The great event in the later history of Brazil was to come when Rio de Janeiro received the Braganzas, under a secret convention, which can be found in Calvo (v. 118).

Napoleon had forced the court of Lisbon into an alliance against England, and a British fleet under Sir Sidney Smith blockaded the Tagus, while Marshal Junot was approaching on the land side. To avoid being crushed between the two, Dom John VI accepted the offer of the English ambassador, and on Nov. 29, 1807,

RENÉ DU GUAY-TROUIN.*

the archives, treasures, and royal family went aboard the Portuguese and British fleets and were transported to Rio de Janeiro, where they arrived March 7, 1808, and found safety for the material wealth and an asylum for the royal dignity. The country passed out of a colonial condition when, in Dec., 1815, a decree made it a kingdom, as an integral part of the United Kingdom of Portugal, Algarves, and Brazil. Quiet, however, did not long prevail. Jealousies between the native Brazilians and the hordes of dependants of the royal family, which had followed them to the country, and the defections of some among the natives, in order to gain titular distinctions from the crown, brought about serious disturbances. A revolt at Pernam-

* From *Mémoires de Monsieur du Guay-Trouin* (Amsterdam, 1740); cf. Sue's *Marine française*, v. 95.

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buco, in 1817, was put down, and no native soldier was trusted thereafter in the royal army. The constitutional revolution in the mother country in 1821 at once had its counterpart in Brazil, which induced Dom John VI to embark for Portugal, leaving his son, Dom Pedro I, to govern in his stead. The National Cortes at Lisbon soon ordered the prince's return and the abolition of royal tribunals at Rio; but Pedro decided to refuse, and to cast in his lot with the Brazilians, while the Portuguese troops in the garrison capitulated and were sent home. On the 7th of Sept., 1822, Dom Pedro determined that Brazil should be independent, and on the 12th of Oct. he was proclaimed constitutional Emperor. For a while the Portuguese government maintained by the troops a contracted dominion at Bahia and at a few other ports; but within three years, the court at Lisbon acknowledged the independence of the new power.

It was not till March, 1824, that a constitution was adopted which was acceptable to both monarch and people. The way to it had been a thorny one; but the emperor's courage and fairness suppressed a revolutionary spirit that could have profited by an opportunity and a weaker ruler. But courage did not make Dom Pedro prudent; his war with Montevideo, in which he was worsted, showed something of the inconsiderate autocrat, and he seemed to forget, as years went on, those ardent promises which so conciliated the Brazilians when he began his rule. So his people and even his army deserted him, and, with a mob before the palace on April 7, 1831, he abdicated in favor of his son, the present emperor, Dom Pedro II.

The literature of this later period is extensive, and will be found in the *Catal. de Hist. do Brazil* (i. pp. 573, 607; *Supplemento*, 1661, 1663). Cf. João Manoel Pereira da Silva's *Historia da fundação do Imperio brazileiro* (Rio, 1864–68), in seven volumes.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

THE VALLEY OF THE LA PLATA RIVER. — Alexander Dalrymple's *Catalogue of authors, who have written on Rio de la Plata, Paraguay, and Chaco* (London, 1807), is arranged chronologically, and includes some titles omitted in Pinelo's *Epitome* (1737). There is a collection of historical documents from 1500 down, including a chronology of the basin of the La Plata, in Martin de Monsey's *Description géographique et statistique de la Confédération Argentine* (Paris, 1860), in three volumes. The *Coleccion de obras y documentos a la historia de la provinceas del Rio de la Plata*, edited with notes by Pedro de Angelis (Buenos Ayres, 1836), in six volumes, is a source of importance. Hermann Burmeister's *Description de la république Argentine* (Paris, 1876), as it is called in the French translation from the German, contains for a first part a history of the discovery and geography of this region.

The cartography of the La Plata Valley and of its several divisions is best traced from the time of Wytfliet and his contemporaries in the enumeration of maps in Uricoechea's *Mapoteca Colombiana;* to be supplemented by those mentioned in the *Brit. Museum Map Catalogue* (London, 1887), and by the MS. maps in the British Museum, referred to in Calvo's *Recueil des Traités* (x. 326). The maps of the last century can be represented by such as Herman Moll's, as given in the *Voyage to Buenos Ayres*, by Acarete du Biscay (London, 1716); that in Pedro Lozano's *Descripcion chorográphica* (Cordoba, 1733); those in Charlevoix's *Paraguay*, made by Bellin (1756); the composite maps in general collections, like those in Prévost's *Voyages* (xiv.), and the German equivalent, the *Allg. Hist. der Reisen*, 1758 (xvi.). There are also occasional fresh observations in the accounts of such explorers as Bougainville.[1] Maps of the present century are abundant, and one of the most widely circulated of the early part of the century is that in Ignacio Nuñez's *Noticias de las Provincias unidas del Rio de la Plata* (Londres, 1825; in English, 1825; in French, Paris, 1826).[2]

The maps of Paraguay alone, of which Sanson's of 1650 is one of the earliest, are enumerated in Uricoechea's *Mapoteca Colombiana* (p. 178, etc.). That in Acarete du Biscay's *Acc. of a Voyage up the River de la Plata* (London, 1698) shows the views at the close of that century. The leading cartographical ideas of the next century are found in D'Anville's map, given in 1733 in the *Lettres Édifiantes* (vol. xxi.), and later in the English translation of Muratori's *Missions of Paraguay* (London, 1759). Bellin contributed the maps to Charlevoix's *Histoire du Paraguay* (Paris, 1756–57). Delisle's map is used in Bernardo Ibañez de Echavarri's *Histoire du Paraguay* (Amsterdam, 1780). The MS. maps in the British Museum are noted in Calvo's *Recueil des Traités* (x. 331). For a recent map see *Geographical Magazine*, Sept., 1875.

[1] Cf. A. J. Pernetty's *Hist. d'un Voyage aux isles Malouines*, 1763–64 (Paris, nouv. ed., 1770), or *Hist. of the Voyage to the Malouine (or Falkland) Islands, 1763–64* (London, 1771; 2d ed., 1773), with its chart of La Plata and plans of Buenos Ayres and Montevideo.

[2] A later work by the same author is in better esteem: *Noticias históricas de la república Arjentina* (Buenos Ayres, 1857).

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The history of Paraguay from the time when, with the foundation of Assuncion, it became a province of the viceroyalty of Peru is best followed in the *Histoire du Paraguay* of Charlevoix,[1] in Funes' *Historia civil del Paraguay* (Buenos Ayres, 1817), and in Charles A. Washburn's *History of Paraguay* (Boston, 1871). The rule of the Jesuits when, in the seventeenth century, Spain gave them the entire control of its government, with power to exclude the Spanish adventurers, which had rendered their missionary efforts abortive,

THE LA PLATA COUNTRY.*

resulted in an ecclesiastical domination, whose character, and the causes of whose downfall with the final expulsion of the order in 1768, have been the subject of much controversy. This story is traced in a summarized way in R. G. Watson's *Spanish and Portuguese South America*, vol. i. ch. 16, covering 1608–1648; and for later times in vol. ii. Beside the general histories of the order (cf. bibliography, *ante*, Vol. IV. p. 295), collections like the *Lettres Édifiantes*, and the biographical records in succession of Nieremberg,

[1] Three volumes, quarto, Paris, 1756; six vols. 12mo, Paris, 1757; in Latin, Venice, 1779; in German, Nuremberg, 1768; abridged in English, London and Dublin, 1769, in two vols. Carter-Brown, iii. nos. 1107, 1663, 2541.

* From Acarete du Biscay's *Voyage up the River de la Plata* (London, 1698).

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Andrade, and Cassani,[1] we trace the diverse views on the Jesuit rule in such works as *Mémoire touchant l'établissement des P. Jésuites dans les Indes d'Espagne* (1716); a letter of 1721, describing events which, extracted from the *Mémoires de Bravet*, appeared as *Le Paraguai Jesuitique* (Amsterdam, 1768); Juan Patricio Fernandez' *Relacion de las Missiones de los Indios* (Madrid, 1726);[2] Pedro Lozano's *Historia de la Compañia de Jesus en la provincia del Paraguay* (Madrid, 1754–55), in two folio volumes; Ludovico Antonio Muratori's *Il Christianesimo Felice nelle missioni de' Padre della Compagnia de Gesu del Paraguai* (Venice, 1743);[3] *Histoire de Nicolas I, Roy du Paraguai* (1756), — an imposition intended to injure the Jesuits; the most effective of all the opposing criticism, *Relacão Abbreviada da Republica* (Lisbon, 1757), which appeared in both Portuguese and French, and is said to have been written by Sebastião José de Carvalho, the Marquis of Pombal, and is best known by the French title, *Relation abrégée concernant la République (Paraguay) que les Jésuites des Provinces de Portugal et d'Espagne, ont établié dans les Pays et Domaines de ces deux Monarchies, et de la guerre qu'ils y ont excitée et soutenue contre les armées Espagnoles et Portugaises* (n. p.; n. d., 1758);[4] an Italian book of Father Bernardo Ibañez de Echavarri, which is better known in the French version, *Histoire du Paraguay sous les jésuites* (Amsterdam, 1780),[5] and the long delayed *Historia de Abiponibus* of Martin Dobrizhoffer (Vienna, 1784), in three volumes, which recounts missionary experiences among this equestrian people of Paraguay.[6]

These must be supplemented by some collections of documents necessary in the study of the movements against the Jesuit rule, and recording the final action of their expulsion. Such are the *Coleccion jeneral de Documentos* (1644, etc.), published at Madrid in 1768–69,[7] and the *Recueil des decrets apostoliques et des ordonnances du Roi de Portugal concernant la conduite des Jésuites dans le Paraguai; les moyens employés pour en procurer la réforme de la part du S. Siège; l'attentat du 3 Sept. 1758, la punition des coupables, etc.* (Amsterdam, 1760, 1761, 1781). This is the French translation of the Latin and Portuguese original, and it was authorized by the Portuguese king. The Jesuits were charged with instigating the natives against the European arms.[8]

Not long after the Jesuit expulsion Paraguay was made a part of the new La Plata viceroyalty (1776), and in 1810 it was the earliest of the states to establish its independence. The exclusive rule of the Dictator Dr. Francia, beginning in 1814 and ending with his death in 1840, can be easiest studied in Washburn's *History*, with help from some contemporary accounts and later examinations.[9]

The later rule of Lopez (1844, etc.) can be best followed, by the English reader, in Washburn.

The early history of Buenos Ayres is a story of Indian depredations; but in 1594 the city became firmly established, and in 1620 the seat of government for the La Plata region was transferred to it from Assuncion. In 1629, a single viceroyalty included Buenos Ayres, Assuncion, Charcas, Potosi, and Cochabamba. After 1640 there was an intermittent conflict between Spain and Portugal for the possession of the country, but in 1785 Spain confirmed her rights by treaty. In 1806 the English invaded La Plata, and Buenos Ayres fell into the hands of General Beresford, only to be recaptured (Aug. 14, 1806) by a Spanish expedition under Santiago Liniers, organized in Montevideo, when Liniers was placed in command of the city.

[1] *Ideas de Virtud en algunos claros varones de la Compañia de Jesus* (Madrid, 1643–47), vols. i., ii., iii., iv.; *Varones ilustres en santidad* (Madrid, 1666–67), vols. v., vi.; and the final continuation of Cassani in 1784.

[2] German edition, Vienna, 1729; Latin, Rome, 1729, and Vienna, 1733.

[3] French translations, Paris, 1754, 1757; German, Vienna, 1758; English, London, 1759 (Carter-Brown, iii. 744, 746, 1026, 1164, 1186, 1228).

[4] It came out also in French at Amsterdam, 1758, and Paris, 1758; in German at Amsterdam, 1758 (2 eds.), and at Lisbon, 1760. *Extraits de la Relation abrégée* appeared at Utrecht, 1758; and a *Mémoire pour servir d'addition et de éclaircissement à la Relation abrégée sur l'abominable conduite des Jésuites dans les Pays d'outre-mer* (1758). Cf. Carter-Brown, iii. 1186–1190, 1271-73, and Sabin, vol. xv.

[5] German translation, *Jesuitisches Reich in Paraguay* (Cöln, 1774). The French edition contains a translation of vol. iv. of *Coleccion jeneral de documentos tocantes a los regulares de la compañia* (Madrid, 1768–1770). Cf. Arana's *Notas para una bibliografia*, no. 222.

[6] It has a map of Taruma and a plan of Rosario. The German translation (Vienna, 1783) has the same maps. There is an English version by Sara H. Coleridge (London, 1822).

[7] Three vols., quarto. The *Carter-Brown Catalogue*, iii. no. 1632, gives the contents. Mainly based on this collection is the *Histoire du Paraguay sous les jésuites, et de la Royauté qu'ils y ont exercée pendant un siècle et demi* (Amsterdam, 1780), in three vols. There is another *Coleccion de documentos relativos a la espulsion de los jesuitas de la República Arjentina y del Paraguai* (Madrid, 1872).

[8] Cf. also, for the criminal process against the order, the *Geschichte von Paraguay* of Juan de Escandon and Bernard Rusdorfer (Frankfort and Leipzig, 1769), which purports to be translated from Spanish MSS.

[9] *The Reign of Doctor Joseph Gaspard Roderich de Francia in Paraguay, being an account of a six years residence in that Republic, July, 1819–May, 1825, by J. R. Rengger and Longchamp, translated from the French of Rengger* (London, 1827), known in the original as *Essai historique sur la révolution du Paraguay, et le gouvernement dictatorial du Docteur Francia* (Paris, 1827). There is an English translation, badly done and defective. There are other experiences of two Scotchmen, J. P. and W. P. Robertson, who published their *Letters on Paraguay, four years residence in that Republic under the government of the Dictator Francia* (London, 1839, two eds.), in three volumes, to which they added another volume, *Dr. Francia's Reign of Terror* (London, 1839), — a book to meet the current interest, rather than to add to what they had already written; and much the same may be said of their still later *Letters on South America* (London, 1843), in three vols. Cf. further, Carlyle's essay on Francia, published originally in the *Foreign Quart. Review*, 1843, and included in his *Essays;* the *Bulletin de la Soc. de Géographie en Anvers* (x. 8–31); and references in *Poole's Index*, vol. i.

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In 1807, Sir Samuel Auchmuty assaulted Montevideo and captured it; but another British force, under General Whitelocke, failed in an attempt to secure Buenos Ayres, and as a result the British evacuated the whole country.

The documentary and contemporary evidence on these British operations can be found in the following:—

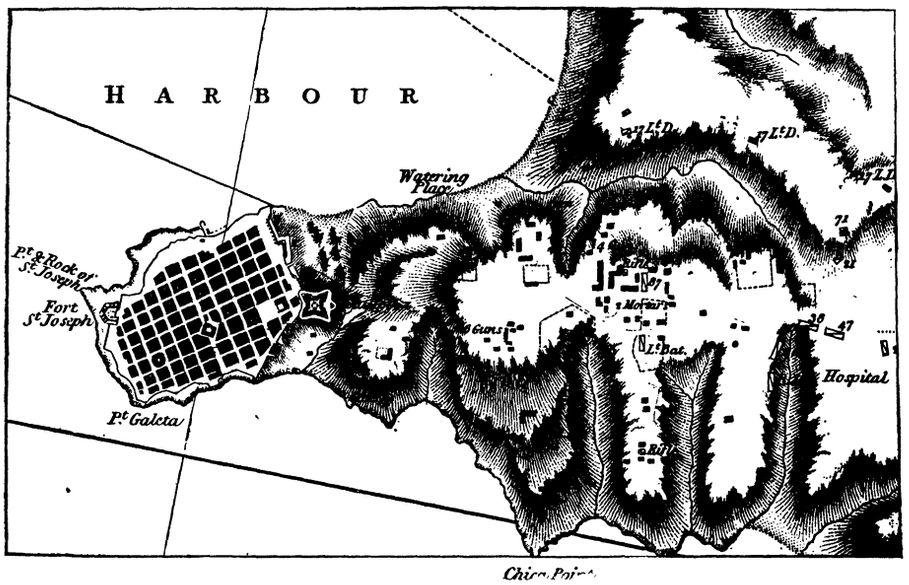
Memoranda on the taking of Buenos Ayres (1806) and its recapture, with documents, Calvo's *Recueil des Traités* (iv. 385; v. 5).

S. H. Wilcocke's *Hist. of the Viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres* (London, 1807), with a map of La Plata and the harbor of Montevideo.

Narrative of the operations of a small British force under General Auchmuty, employed in the reduction of Montevideo (London, 1807), with a map of the country round Montevideo.

Authentic narrative of the expedition of Brig. Gen. Craufurd, until his arrival at Monte Video, with an account of the operations against Buenos Ayres under the command of Lt. Gen. Whitelocke, by an officer (London, 1808).

Notes on the Viceroyalty of La Plata, with a history of the operations of the British troops in that country (London, 1808).



AUCHMUTY'S ATTACK ON MONTEVIDEO.*

A modern English view of the transactions of 1806–7 is to be found in the last chapter of R. G. Watson's *Spanish and Portuguese South America* (London, 1884), who bases his recital in good part on the *La Plata* of Santiago Arcos (Paris, 1865) and the account of the trial to which Whitelocke was subjected. The charges against that officer, with some extracts from the voluminous publications on the *Trial*, are given in Watson's appendix. Whitelocke was cashiered.

Sir Woodbine Parish, the minister from England to Buenos Ayres in the later days of Rosas, gave the English reader one of the best comprehensive surveys of the history and condition of the region in his *Buenos Aires and the Provinces of the Rio de la Plata from their discovery and conquest by the Spaniards to the establishment of their political independence* (2d ed., London, 1852), a work which the South Americans think much improved by the annotations of Justo Maeso in his Spanish translation (Buenos Ayres, 1852).

Cf. Andres Lamas's *Coleccion de memorias y documentos para la historia y la jeografía de los pueblos del Rio de la Plata* (Montevideo, 1849).

The beginning of the revolution in Buenos Ayres has been referred to in the preceding chapter; and the country soon fell under the control of a director of the United Provinces of La Plata, who with his successors met with many vicissitudes, until a congress, sitting at Tucuman, declared the independence of the republic, March 24, 1816. One of the most important works for the war of independence in the La Plata region, as weil as for the later strifes, is General José M. Paz's *Memorias pósthumos: comprenden sus compañas, servi-*

* A portion of a map in a *Narrative of the operations of a small British force employed in the reduction of Montevideo, 1807* (London, 1807).

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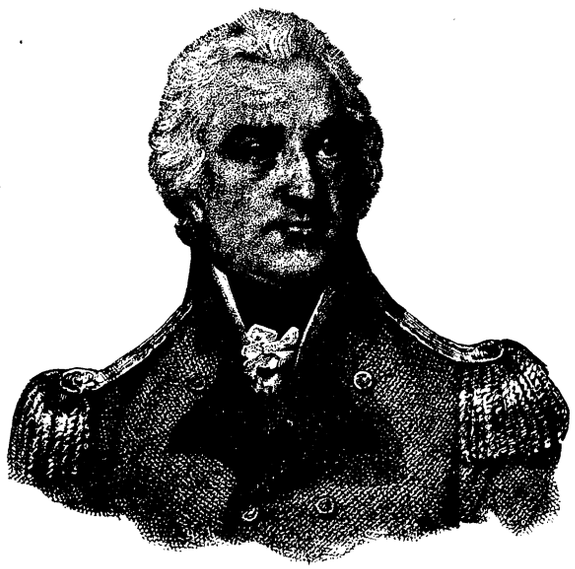
cios i padecimientos desdes la guerra de la independencia hasta sa muerte, con variedad de otros documentos inéditos de alta importancia (Buenos Ayres, 1855), in four volumes. The story of the revolution, its fulfilment and its sequel, can be well followed in D. F. Sarmiento's *Civilizacion i barbarie* (Santiago de Chile, 1845). A second edition was published at Santiago in 1851, as *Vida de Facundo Quiroga, i aspecto físico, costumbres i hábitos de la República Argentina*, with an *Examen critico* by Ch. de Mazade, translated from the *Revue des deux Mondes*. A French version (Paris, 1853) by A. Giraud follows this second edition. The third Spanish edition follows closely the second, and it is from this that the English version, *Life in the Argentine Republic in the Days of the Tyrants*, was published in New York in 1868. Mazade's paper, however, is replaced by a biographical sketch of Sarmiento by Mrs. Horace Mann.

The precarious political condition of Uruguay during this period of revolution and later is chronicled in Antonio Diodoro de Pascual's *Apuntes para la historia de la República Oriental del Uruguay, desde el año de 1810 hasta el de 1852 por A. D. de P.* (Paris, 1863), in two volumes.

There are some stray records of observation on the lower La Plata during the first half of this century:—

Alexander Gillespie's *Gleanings and Remarks collected during many months of residence in Buenos Ayres* (Leeds, 1818).



SIR SAMUEL AUCHMUTY.*

Reports on the present state of the United Provinces of South America (London, 1819), laid before the United States Congress by C. A. Rodney and John Graham. This made part of Monroe's message of Nov. 16, 1818, to which were appended documents respecting the affairs in South America. There were other South American reports made to the same Congress (Poore's *Descriptive Catal.*, p. 129). Cf. H. M. Brackenridge's *Voyage to South America performed by order of the American government, 1817–18* (Baltimore, 1819; London, 1820).

Vicente Pazos' *Letters on the United Provinces of South America addressed to Henry Clay, translated from the Spanish by P. H. Crosby* (N. Y., 1819).

A. F.'s *Précis historique sur la Révolution des Provinces Unies de l'Amérique du Sud, 1819* (Paris, 1849).

Alexander Caldcleugh's *Travels in South America, 1819–21* (London, 1825).

J. A. B. Beaumont's *Travels in Buenos Ayres* (London, 1828).

Manuel Moreno's *Late military revolution in Buenos Ayres and assassination of Gov. Dorrego* (London, 1829).

Samuel Haigh's *Sketches of Buenos Ayres and Chile* (London, 1829).

Voyages à Buenos Ayres, 1830–34 (Havre, 1835).

Col. J. A. King's *Twenty-four Years in the Argentine Republic, ed. by G. R. Whitney* (New York, 1846).

* After a likeness by Abbot, engraved by A. Cardon, and given in *Notes on the Viceroyalty of La Plata* (London, 1808).

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GUIANA. — The stretch of the Atlantic coast from Trinidad to the mouth of the Amazon, called Guiana in a general way, was first prominently brought to the attention of Europe by the voyage of Raleigh, of which an account, together with the beginnings of the coast's cartography, is noted elsewhere.[1] The Dutch had begun as early as 1580 to snatch a temporary hold here and there of the coast, but it was not till about 1602 that they acquired on the Essequibo anything like a permanent station.[2] The English were soon alert. Nichols published his *Houreglasse of Indian News* at London in 1607, which told the sad story of the suffering of a company of sixty-seven colonists who missed their way; and in 1608 Robert Harcourt made a pretence of taking possession of the country for James I.

A voyager along the coast a little later was Jean Mocquet, who at Paris in 1616 published his *Voyages;* and a second edition was issued in 1617, a third in 1645, a fourth in 1665.

Mocquet visited the region where the French were soon in such numbers as constituted a claim to a settlement, at what is now Cayenne, and the French under Charles Poncet soon confirmed their claim by further occupation at Cayenne, Surinam, and Berbice. The natives, however, attacked the settlements, and those who escaped destruction fled to St. Kitts. In 1643 the French again undertook the expedition whose story is told in Paul Boyer's *Veritable Relation de tout ce qui s'est fait et passé au voyage que Monsieur de Bretigny fit à l'Amérique Occidentale* (Paris, 1654).

Again, in 1652, a more determined undertaking was that of Royville, but the leader of the expedition died on the voyage, and external dangers and intestine quarrel soon worked the colony's destruction, and the remnants of the colonists soon fled to the English, now holding Surinam. We have two contemporary accounts of this misguided attempt. Antonie Biet, who was in charge of the Jesuit priests in the expedition, published at Paris in 1664 his *Voyage de la France Equinoxiale en l'isle de Cayenne, entrepris par les François en l'année 1652*. The other was by Jean de Laon, Sieur d'Aigremont, a member of the company, and was called *Relation dv voyage des François fait av cap de Nord en Amérique, par les soins de la Compagnie establie à Paris, et sous la conduite de Monsieur de Royville, leur général, auec vne ample description du Pays, des mœurs et façon de viure des sauuages, et l'observation des hauteurs, dédié à Madame la duchesse d'Egvillon, par I. de Laon, sieur d'Aigremont, ingénieur du Roy, et capitaine dans les troupes de France Equinoctialle* (Paris, 1654).

Cayenne being now deserted by the French, the Dutch reoccupied it under Guerin Spranger, but this commander was soon obliged to yield possession to a new French expedition. Meanwhile the missionaries record for us something of what they saw and were doing during this interval. The Father Pierre Pelleprat was sent as a Jesuit missionary to the West Indies in 1639, and he gave an account of his order's labors in the French islands and in Guiana in his *Relation des missiones* (Paris, 1655).

Leclerc (no. 1528) notes, as of importance for the study of the French colony in 1661–63, five letters written by Dutch missionaries to the consistory of Amsterdam.

The Sieur Lefebre de la Barre formed in 1663 a new company for the settlement of Guiana. The project met the approval of Colbert, and in 1664 the advance party of the colony sailed in two ships. The next year La Barre returned and laid before the king his hopeful *Description de la France Equinoxiale, cy-devant appelée Guyanne, et pay les Espagnols, El Dorado* (Paris, 1666). It was accompanied by a map "dressée sur les mémoires de la Barre et gravée par Mel."

A war between the French and English ensued, and we can follow it, as well as the personal career of La Barre, in a *Relation de ce qui s'est passée, dans les isles et Terre-Ferme de l'Amérique pendant la dernière guerre avec l'Angleterre, et depuis en exécution du traité de Breda; avec un journal du dernier voyage du Sr. de la Barre en la Terre-Ferme, et Isle de Cayenne. Le tout recueilly des mémoires des principaux officiers qui ont commandé en ce pays. Par I. C. S. D. V.* (Paris, 1671). This recital has been ascribed to J. de Clodore, governor of Martinique (Leclerc, no. 1307). The French fleet under La Barre was defeated by the English near Martinique in July, 1667, in an action described in *Relation de ce qui s'est passé à la defaite de l'armée navale de France dans l'Amérique, par le Chevalier Jean Herman, commandant une esquadre de vaisseaux d'Angleterre.* (Cf. Leclerc, no. 1331.)

In 1667 George Warren gives us *An impartial description of Surinam* (London) during the English occupancy; and in a recent London catalogue an original plan of the English plantations at this time is thus described: *A Description of the Colony of Surranam in New Guiana, drawne in the yeare 1667; the Planters names as they are settled in their plantations in the Severall parts of the Country; the land is low and very full of woods; its very bad travelling from one plantation to another without Boats.* Amongst the names of planters is that of Sir Robert Harley (uncle of the famous Robert Harley, created in 1711 Earl of Oxford), who died in 1673.

The Treaty of Breda had not pacified the region as was expected, and the Dutch again took Cayenne, and the complaint of the English as to their action at Surinam is set forth in *The Conduct of the Dutch relating*

[1] *Ante*, Vol. III. p. 124. Cf. also Uricoechea's *Mapoteca Colombiana*, pp. 103–116.

The bibliography of Guiana is best followed in Ternaux's *Notice Historique sur la Guyane française* (Paris, 1843), pp. 169, 170; and in Victor de Nouvion's *Extraits des Auteurs et voyageurs qui ont écrit sur la Guyane, suivis du Catalogue bibliographique de la Guyane* (Paris, 1844).

[2] On the Dutch colonization, see Gerardus de la Mijst's *Verloren Arbeyt ofte klaar en kortbondigh vertoogh van de Colonie in de Lantstreke Guiana* (Amsterdam, 1678).

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to their breach of treaties with England, particularly their breach of the articles of capitulation for the surrender of Surinam in 1667 (London, 1760).

The French, under the Comte d'Estrees, once more attacked Cayenne, Dec. 21, 1676. (Cf. Eugène Sue's *Hist. de la Marine Française*, ii. 411.)

We have, a few years later, a Dutch description in Adrian van Berkel's *Amerikaansche Voyagien* (Amsterdam, 1695), of which a German version was later published: *Beschreibung seiner Reisen nach Rio de Berbice und Surinam* (Memmingen, 1789).

CAYENNE AND ITS VICINITY.*

Early in the next century we follow the fortunes of Surinam in such recitals of Cassard's exploits (1712) as are given in Norman's *Corsairs of France* (London, 1887), p. 141, and in the contemporary *Beschryvinge van Zuriname*, by J. D. Herlein (1718).

The French settlements are described by Pierre Barrère, who was there in 1722–24, in his *Nouvelle Relation de la France Equinoxiale* (Paris, 1743), and this same writer printed a more distinctly descriptive *Essai* in 1749. Father Labat worked up some material put into his hands in his *Voyage du Chevalier des Marchais en Guinée, . . . et à Cayenne, fait en 1725–27* (Paris, 1730; Amsterdam, 1731).

The English cartographer Thomas Jefferys in 1760 brought the region into notice in his *French Dominions*

* Part of a map in *Staat van Amerika* (Amsterdam, 1766), ii. 418. Cf. maps in Labat's *Voyage du Chev. des Marchais* (Amsterdam, 1831); Pierre Barrère's *France Equinoxiale* (Paris, 1743); Bellin's *Desc. Géog. de la Guiane* (Paris, 1763); Prévost's *Voyages*, vol. xi.; *London Magazine*, 1763.

The most common maps of the last century of the whole country of Guiana were Bellin's and D'Anville's, which last is in Labat, Prévost, and the *Allg. Hist. der Reisen*, etc.

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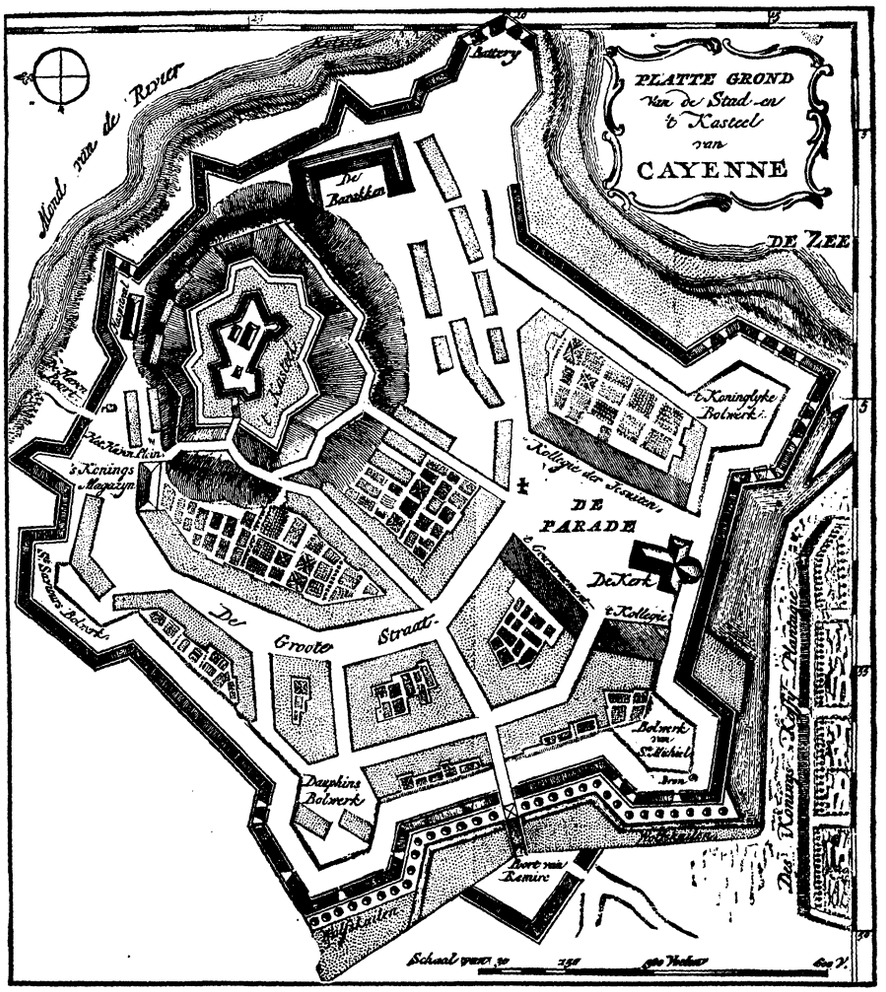
in North and South America, and in 1763 there was a revival of interest in Europe. Bellin, the French geographer, published his *Description géographique de Guyane* (Paris, 1763), with its numerous maps; and in Holland we find Thomas Pistorius's *Korte en Zakelyke Beschryvinge van de Colonie van Zuriname* (Amsterdam, 1763).

During the rest of the century it is mainly personal experiences, as reflecting the social and political conditions, that help us. We now encounter such books as these: —

Philip Fermin's *Description de Surinam* (Amsterdam, 1769).

Jan Jacob Hartsinck's *Beschryving van Guiana* (Amsterdam, 1770; German, Berlin, 1784), with various maps and views.



From *Staat van Amerika* (Amsterdam, 1766), ii. 448. Cf. *Allg. Hist. der Reisen* (1754), xii. 56.

J. G. Stedman's *Narrative of a five years' expedition against the revolted negroes of Surinam* (1772–1777). It helps the student by its graphic and cartographical aids, and was so popular a book as to have been frequently reprinted (London, 1796, 1800, 1813; in French, Paris, 1797; in German, Halle, 1797).

Remarques critiques sur le tableau historique et politique de la colonie de Surinam (Londres, 1779).

Philip Fermin's *Tableau historique et politique de l'état ancien et actuel de la colonie de Surinam et des causes de sa décadence* (Maestricht, 1778; in English, London, 1781). Firmin was for a long time a resident in the colony.

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D. de la Nassy's *Essai historique sur le colonie de Surinam* (Paramaribo, 1788), in two volumes.
J. F. Ludwig's *Surinam* (Jena, 1789).

In 1796 the British, under Major-General Whyte, took possession of a portion of the country, and in 1802 the peace of Amiens restored the same to the Dutch; but the next year the English arms repossessed the region, and in 1814 the sections now known as Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice were confirmed to British rule.[1]

The three possessions of the English, Dutch, and French are usually separately considered since the latter part of the last century. It is enough for the English part to refer to H. G. Dalton's *Hist. of British Guiana* (London, 1855). A publication of the Society of Portuguese Jews, called *Essai historique sur la colonie de Surinam, avec l'histoire de la nation Juive Portugaise et Allemande y etablié* (Paramaribo, 1788; in Dutch, Amsterdam, 1791), elucidates the history of the Dutch portion. For the French region we have larger resources: Bajon's *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Cayenne et de la Guiana Françoise* (Paris, 1777, — an abridged German version, Erfurt, 1780–84). Gallard de Terraube's *Tableau de Cayenne en de la Guiane Française* (Paris, 1799), the result of three voyages to rectify the cartography. A French work, of which I have only seen the German translation, *Reise nach Guiana und Cayenne, nebst einer Uebersicht der ältern dahin gemachten Reisen und neuern Nachrichten von diesem Lande* (Hamburg, 1799). *Neue Reise nach Cayenne* (Leipzig, 1799). Ferdinand Denis's *La Guyanne, ou Histoire, etc., de cette partie de l'Amérique* (Paris, 1823). Frédéric Bouyer's *La Guyane Française* (Paris, 1867).

About the beginning of the present century there was an important documentary collection published by V. P. Malouet, *Collection de Mémoires et Correspondance officielles sur l'administration des Colonies, et notamment sur la Guiane Française et Hollandaise* (Paris, l'an x), in five volumes.

THE REVOLUTION IN THE NORTHWEST. — The literature of the revolutionary period of this century in the northwestern parts of South America is not well represented collectively in any bibliography, and must mostly be eliminated from the larger groupings of the native publications. For such purpose, the *Biblioteca de ex Coronel Pineda* (Bogota, 1853) chronicles the issues of the press from 1774 to 1850. P. Herrera published an *Esayo sobre la Historia de la Literatura Ecuatoriana* (Quito, 1860). J. M. Vergara y Vergara's *Historia de la literatura en Nueva Grenada* (Bogota, 1867). J. M. Spence's *Land of Bolivar*, vol. ii., has a list on Venezuela. J. M. Rojas's *Biblioteca de escritores Venezolanos Contemporáneos* (Caracas, 1875).

One of the principal documentary sources for the period from 1808 to the establishment of South American independence is Charles Calvo's *Annales historiques de la révolution de l'Amérique latine* (Paris, 1864–67; also in Spanish, Paris, 1864–67), in five volumes, which is the second series of his *Recueil des Traités*. The whole field is surveyed in Mariano Torrente's *Historia de la Revolucion Hispano-Americana* (Madrid, 1829), in three volumes; but the view is a Spanish one, and not satisfactory to Spanish-Americans. Some of the characteristic illustrative publications of the time are: —

Alvado Florez Estrada's *Impartial Examination of the Dispute between Spain and her American Colonies*, an English translation by W. Burdon (London, 1872).

Manuel Palacio Fajardo's *Outline of the Revolution in South America* (London, 1817; N. Y., 1817). There is a French version (Paris, 1817; revised, 1819).[2]

Dominique Dafour de Pradt's *Des Colonies et de la Révolution Actuelle de l'Amérique* (Paris, 1817; Bordeaux, in Spanish, 1817); and J. D. Williams's translation of De Pradt's *Europe and America in 1821* (London, 1822).

W. B. Stevenson's *A historical and descriptive narrative of twenty years' residence in South America; containing travels in Arauco, Chile, Peru, and Colombia; with an account of the revolution* [*1821–1824*], *its rise, progress, and results* (London, 1825).

The arguments that induced the interposition of the English are found in —

Wm. Burke's *South American Independence*, and his *Additional Reasons for our immediately emancipating Spanish America* (London, 1808).

William Walton's *Present State of the Spanish Colonies* (London, 1810), and his *Exposé of the dissensions of Spanish America* (London, 1814).

M. G. Mulhall's *English in South America* (Buenos Ayres, 1879).

The lives of Bolivar, already referred to, gather the essential elements of the story. The basis of all is the considerable *Coleccion de documentos, relativos a la vida pública del libertador de Colombia y del Peru, Simon Bolivar para servir a la historia de la independencia de Sur América* (Caracas, 1826, 1833), in 22 volumes, and the *Documentos para la historia de la vida publica del Libertador de Colombia, Perú y Bolivia, Puestos por orden cronológico, y con adiciones y notas que la ilustran, por el general José Felix Blanco y Ramon Azpurua* (Caracas, 1875–77), in fourteen volumes.

[1] Cf. P. M. Netscher's *Geschiedenis van de Kolonien Essequibo, Demerary en Berbice* (La Haye, 1888).

[2] D. B. Arana's *Notas para una bibliografia*, no. 157.

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These may be supplemented by such works as *Interesting official documents relating to the United Provinces of Venezuela* (London, 1812, in both English and Spanish); *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la revolution de la Capitainerie générale de Caracas jusqu'au mois d'août, 1814*, by H. Poudenx and F. Mayer (Paris, 1815); Major George Flinter's *Hist. of the Revolution in Caracas* (London, 1819); José Domingo Diaz's *Recuerdos sobre la rebelion de Caracas* (Madrid, 1829), the record of an eye-witness, and secretary of Morillo; Geo. Laval Chesterton's *Narrative of proceedings in Venezuela*, 1819–1820 (London, 1820); R. M. Baralt and R. Diaz's *Historia de Venezuela*, 1797–1830 (Paris, 1841, — a continuation of Baralt's *Historia de Venezuela desde el descubrimiento hasta 1797*, Paris, 1841), works too Spanish to be wholly pleasing to South American readers; Rafter's *Memoirs of Gregor M'Gregor, comprising a sketch of the Revolution in New Grenada and Venezuela* (London, 1820); J. A. de Plaza's *Memorias para la historia de la Nueva Granada* (Bogota, 1850), which, however, only comes down to 1810, but in his *Compendio de la historia de la Nueva Grenada* (Bogota, 1850) he tells the story in a condensed way to 1831; Guillaume Lallement's *Histoire de la Colombie* (Paris, 1826); José Manuel Restrepo's *Historia de la revolucion de la república de Colombia* (Paris, 1827, in ten vols., with an atlas; 2d ed., Besanzon, 1858, in 3 vols.); *The Present State of Colombia, containing an account of the principal events of its revolutionary war* (London, 1827).

There are a number of contemporary records of the period following the declaration of independence: Alexander Walker's *Colombia* (Londres, 1822). G. T. Mollien's *Voyage dans la république de Colombia* (Paris, 1823, 1825; English trans., Lond., 1824). W. B. Stevenson's *Historical and descriptive narrative of twenty years' residence in South America* (London, 1825). Col. William Duane's *Visit to Colombia, 1822–23* (Philad., 1826). Capt. Chas. Stuart Cochrane's *Residence and Travels in Colombia*, 1823–24 (London, 1825). Lieutenant Richard Bache's *Notes on Colombia*, 1822–23 (Philad., 1827).

PERU AND CHILE. — The descriptions of Peru and Chile in the seventeenth and eighteenth century are an important element in our knowledge of the history of that time. They come in the main from navigators, members of religious orders, and latterly more particularly from travellers. The *Descripcion del regno de Chile*, by Francisco Ponce de Leon, was presented to the king in the form of a memorial, and later printed at Madrid about 1644. (Leclerc, no. 1965.)

The voyage of Frezier on the coasts of Chile and Peru in 1712–14 was the most noticeable of its time, and the maps and plates which accompanied its relation attracted popular notice.[1]

The voyage of Alonzo Carillo Lazo to Peru in 1745–49, originally written in Spanish, was presented in French by the Abbé de la Blancharderie as *Nouveau Voyage fait au Pérou* (Paris, 1751), and in an English dress (London, 1753).

The travels of the early part of the present century are not so important as historical material.[2]

The material in relation to the Church and missions of both Peru and Chile is extensive and needs to be used in parallel study. The general histories give much; but there are details in many sectional works.

The most famous of the Spanish prelates sent to Peru to take the headship of its Church and its missions was Toribio, who at forty-three reached Lima as its archbishop. From this time till his death in 1606 his personality was a conspicuous one both in the affairs of the Church and in the labors among the native tribes. The first considerable life of Toribio was that by Antonio de Leon Pinelo, who founded it on a mass of documents which he possessed: *Vida de D. Torribio Alfonso Montgrovejo, arçobispo de la ciudad de los Reyes* (Madrid, 1653), which was followed by the Italian memoir by Michel Angelo Lapi, *Vita del servo di Dio, Torivio* (Roma, 1656). An effort later began to secure his canonization, and Cypriano de Herrera published his *Mirabilis Vita* (Roma, 1670), which was based on the material sent from Lima in aid of the movement. Anastasio Nicoselli's *Vita di S. Toribio* (Roma, 1726) is simply drawn from Herrera. There was another *Vita Venerabilis Toribii* (Patavii, 1670) published by an Augustine monk, Francisco Macedo. The beatification took place in 1679, and his canonization in 1726. Meanwhile, in 1683, Francisco Antonio de Montalvo made Toribio the subject of some important books, *El sol del Nuevo Mondo*, and *Breve teatro de las acciones de la Vida del bienaventurado Toribio* (Roma). A later account is in Ant. Guerrero Martinez Rubio's *El phenix de las becas* (Salamanca, 1728).

Fray Antonio de la Calancha's *Corónica moralizada del orden de San Augustin en el Perú* (Barcelona, 1638) is an important chronicle, continued in a second volume, never completed however, by Fray Diego de

[1] The original edition, *Relation du Voyage de la mer du Sud aux côtes du Chily et du Pérou fait pendant les années 1712, 13 et 1714* (Paris, 1716). A later edition (Paris, 1732) is the same with a new title and some additions in an appendix. There was a French edition also at Amsterdam in 1717; a Dutch one there in 1718; German, at Hamburg, 1717, 1718, 1745; and an English version at London, in 1717 (Leclerc, nos. 1954, etc.; Carter-Brown, iii. nos. 212, 221, 222, 229, 230, 486, 800).

[2] For example: Joseph Skinner on *The Present Condition of Peru* (1806). Peter Schmidtmeyer's *Travels into Chile over the Andes, 1820-21* (London, 1824). Thomas Sutcliffe, *Sixteen years in Chile and Peru, 1822–1839* (London, 1841). Robert Proctor's *Narrative of a journey across the Andes and of a residence in Lima, etc., 1823–24* (London, 1825). Capt. Basil Hall's *Extracts from a Journal on the Coasts of Chile, Peru, and Mexico, 1820–22* (London, 1824; Edinburgh, 4th ed., 1825; also in *Constable's Miscellanies*, 1826; Philad., 1824). John Miers's *Travels in Chile and La Plata* (London, 1826). This writer was an observer of Cochrane's operations. Lieut. Charles Brand's *Journal of a Voyage to Peru* (London, 1828). Edmund Temple's *Travels in various parts of Peru* (London, 1830; Philad., 1833).

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Cordova, which was printed at Lima in 1653 (Leclerc, no. 1701). There is a French translation (Toulouse, 1653), and Brulius's *Historia Peruana ordinis erimitarum S. P. Augustini libri octodecim* (Antuerpiæ, 1651) is called a translation.

Fray Andres de S. Nicolas began a history of the labors of the order of Saint Augustine, but his death left it to be finished by some of his brothers, and it appeared at Madrid (1664–1669), in four volumes.

Cordova also published at Lima, in 1630, the life of a famous Franciscan who had died in Lima in 1610, *Vida del Apostol del Perú el Venerable Fray Francisco Solano.* An enlarged edition was published by Alonso de Mendieta at Madrid in 1743, who prepared it in furtherance of the effort made to secure Solano's canonization. Father Tiburcio Navarro published a Latin life, *Triumphus Charitatis* (Rome, 1671), to the same end. He was not canonized till 1726. There was a great ceremony in Lima when that beatific honor was secured, all of which is recounted in Fray Pedro Rodriguez Guillen's *El sol y año feliz del Perú San Francisco Solano* (Madrid, 1735). There are lesser lives of Solano by Fray Cisneros (Madrid, 1727), B. S. de Feria y Morales (Madrid, 1762), etc. Cf. Leclerc, nos. 1710, 1714, 1731, 1751, 1805.

This portrait of TORIBIO is reduced from a plate in Leon Pinelo's *Vida* (1653).

An early work on the labors of the Dominicans is Fray Juan Melendez's *Tesoros verdaderos de las Yndias* (Roma, 1681), in three folio volumes.

As respects the Jesuits and their relation to the progress of events, the *Compendio historial e Indice cronológico Peruano y del nuevo Regno de Granada* (Madrid, 1684?), of Fray Manuel Rodriguez, covers the events from the discovery down to the date of publication.

For divisionary periods we have the *Relatione Breve del P. Diego de Torres*, by F. Vuez (Milano, 1603); other details are in Juan Hayus's *De Rebus Japonicis, Indicis et Peruanis Epistolae recentiores* (Antuerpiae, 1605).

Padre Joseph Puendo's *Vida admirable y prodigiosas virtudes del V. Padre Francisco del Castillo* (Madrid, 1693) is the story of a priest born in Lima in 1615, who became a Jesuit in 1632, and having acquired great fame as a preacher, died at Lima in 1673.

Miguel de Olivares's *Historia de la Compañia de Jesus en Chile* (1593–1736), annotated by Diego Barros Arana, makes vo. vii. of the *Historiadores de Chile* (Santiago, 1874).

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THE

HISTORICAL CHOROGRAPHY

OF

SOUTH AMERICA.

BY THE EDITOR.

WITH the discovery of Magellan, complementing that of Balbóa, the general contour of South America was pretty well understood; and the southern continent of America, long before the northern, took its place in the new hemisphere with something like completeness. The oldest map we have — that of La Cosa — had shown from the explorations of Columbus and his companions the northerly and northeasterly shores, in 1500.[1] The same had been delineated with more or less development in the Cantino map of 1502;[2] in the Portuguese charts which Lelewel supposes to be represented in the map which he assigns to 1501–1504;[3] in the Ruysch map of the Ptolemy of 1508;[4] in the Peter Martyr map of 1511;[5] in the Sylvanus map in the Ptolemy of 1511;[6] in the "Admiral's map,"[7] and in the "Orbis typus universalis juxta,"[8] — both in the Ptolemy of 1513; and in the map in Reisch's *Margarita philosophica* of 1515.[9] The explorations upon which this knowledge was based, began with the expedition of Ojeda and Vespucius (1499), and with that of Pedro Alonzo Niño and Cristóbal Guerra (1499–1500), both on the northern coasts.[10] These were followed by the expedition of Vincente Yañez Pinzon, one of Columbus' original captains, who in the latter part of 1499 crossed the equinoctial line, and on Jan. 20, 1500 (though accounts vary a little), made Cape St. Augustine, — the first of Europeans to see that most easterly point of what was for a few years to come to be distinctively the New World.[11] Pinzon's explorations in the Spanish interests were northerly from

[1] See sketch, Vol. II. p. 106, and the heliotype in Vol. III. p. 8.

[2] Sketched in Vol. II. p. 108.

[3] *Géographie du moyen-âge*, p. 43, — confessedly made up from the two maps in the Ptolemy of 1513 as based on Portuguese knowledge of ten years earlier.

[4] Sketched in Vol. II. p. 115, and heliotyped in Vol. III. p. 8.

[5] Fac-simile in Vol. II. p. 110.

[6] Sketched on Mercator's projection in Vol. II., p. 122.

[7] Fac-simile in Vol. II. p. 112.

[8] Fac-simile in Vol. II. p. 111.

[9] Fac-simile in Vol. II. p. 114.

[10] See Vol. II. p. 187.

[11] See Vol. II. p. 188. The author of the *Corografia Brazilica*, while admitting the voyage of Pinzon, claims that his Cape Consolation was not Cape St. Augustine, but the North Cape, under two degrees south latitude. Cf. Santarem, Childe's tr., p. 110, and Cesáreo Fernandez Duro's *Colón y Pinzón. Informe relativo á los pormenores del descubrimiento del Nuevo mundo presentado á la Real academia de la historia* (Madrid, 1883). In the La Cosa map (1500) at Cape St. Augustine is this legend: "Este Cabo se descubrio en anno de mil y iiiixcix por Castilla syendo descubridor Vicentians." Cf. the bibliography in Silva's *L'Oyapoc et l'Amazone*. It is claimed for Ojeda that he touched near Cape St. Augustine in June, 1499. Varnhagen in hi

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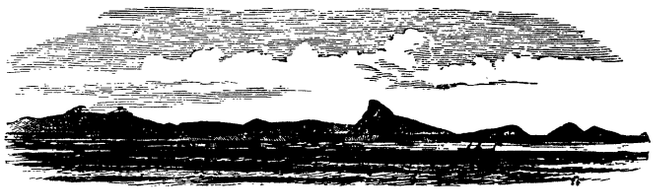
SKETCH MAP
OF
SOUTH AMERICA
WEST INDIA Is
Jamaica
Haiti
Porto Rico
Little Antilles
CARIBBEAN SEA
Caracas
Trinidad
VENEZUELA
COLOMBIA
Bogota
Georgetown
Paramaribo
Cayenne
BRITISH GUIANA
DUTCH GUIANA
FRENCH GUIANA
River Amazon
Para
Obidos
ECUADOR
Quito
BRAZIL
Matto Grosso
Sergipe
Bahia
Olivença
Porto Segure
Porto Alegre
Minas Geraes
Victoria
RIO DE JANEIRO
São Francisco
I. Sta Catharina
Porto Alegre
Callao
Lima
Cuzco
Lake Titicaca
BOLIVIA
Upper Peru
Potosi
Arica
Iquique
Cobija
Tropic of Capricorn
Copiapo
ARGENTINE CONFEDERATION
Cordova
Mendoza
Valparaiso
Santiago
Juan Fernandez I.
Buenos Ayres
Monte Video
URUGUAY
Rio de la Plata
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Concepcion
Valdivia
Chiloe
PACIFIC OCEAN
Patagonia
Madre de Dios Archipelago
Falkland Islands
Strait of Magellan
Tierra del Fuego
Cape Horn
Georgia I.
British Miles
Kilometres
Route

this point.[1] He sailed into that fresh-water sea which the Amazon spreads into the ocean, and filled his water-casks, while yet no land was in sight. He passed the Orinoco, and from the Gulf of Paria turned back and reached Spain in September.[2] Between December (1499) and June (1500) Diego de Lepe added something to the knowledge of the coast from below Cape St. Augustine northward; but precisely how much is not known.[3] Meanwhile the Portuguese had established the claim under the treaty of the Line of Demarcation which makes Brazil to-day the inheritance of the House of Braganza.[4] To follow up Da Gama's discoveries by the Cape of Good Hope, Emanuel of Portugal had sent a squadron under Pedro Alvarez de Cabral, who left the Tagus in March, 1500. To avoid the calms on the African coast, as is commonly alleged, though possibly stress of weather may have been the reason,[5] he stretched his course so far westerly that on April 22 he struck the American coast at a point considerably south of Pinzon's landfall.

He followed the coast beyond fifteen degrees south latitude, and landing in a safe harbor, Puerto Seguro, on the third of May, called the country *Terra Sanctæ Crucis*.[6] He sent back one of his vessels to announce his discovery, and on the 22d, steering southeasterly, proceeded to his original destination. Thus, as has frequently been said, from the time of Robertson, the New World might have in a short time been discovered by accident, had Columbus never pursued his theory. It was customary in the days of Robertson and Raynal to claim for Cabral the discovery of Brazil, in



MONTE PASCOAL, FROM THE SEA.[7]

Examen, in reply to D'Avezac, enumerates the proofs, as he calls them, of his belief in the discovery of Brazil by Ojeda in June, 1499. Burton (*Hans Stade*, p. lxxix) notes various claims of earlier knowledge.

[1] Varnhagen defended his view of the landfall of Pinzon in his *Examen* (p. 19), in reply to D'Avezac.

[2] Cf. Navarrete, iii. 18; Grynæus, *Novus orbis*, editions of 1532 and 1555; Humboldt, *Examen critique*, i. 313, and iii. 221; Galvano (Hakluyt Society's edition), p. 94. The "Capitulation" of Pinzon was first published from the manuscript, at Madrid, by Joaquim Caetano da Silva in the appendix of his *L'Oyapoc et l'Amazone, Question Brésilienne et Française*, Paris, 1861, 2 vols. This work is an historical examination of the dispute between France and Brazil as to the bounds of French Guiana.

[3] Navarrete, iii. 23, 553; Humboldt, *Examen critique*, i. 314, iv. 221.

[4] Varnhagen's *Examen de quelques points de l'histoire géographique du Brésil*, p. 31, with map showing his own and D'Avezac's views of the portion of Brazil cut off by it.

[5] Galvano (Hakluyt Society's edition, p. 96) says: "Losing sight of one of his ships, he went to seek her, and in seeking of her, lost his course, and sailed till he came within sight of land."

[6] Ruysch's map of 1508 is the earliest to name Brazil "Terra Sanctæ Crucis." See Vol. II. p. 115.

[7] The first land seen by Cabral was a range of hills in the province of Bahia, back from the coast in the region of the savage Botocudo; and conspicuous in the prospect is a conical hill, which is seen in the view of the coast at this point given in C. F. Hartt's *Geology and Physical Geography of Brazil* (Boston, 1870), p. 226, as copied above.

One of Cabral's companions, Pedro Vaz de Caminha, describes the view with tolerable accuracy in a letter, dated May 1, 1500, preserved in the Governmental archives at Lisbon. This letter was first printed incorrectly in the *Corografia Brazilica* (vol. i. p. 13) of Ayres do Cazal, 1817, and in 1836 was edited more correctly by the Royal Academy of Lisbon in *Noticias das nacões ultramarinhas*, vol. iv. no. 3. It was translated into French in 1822. Cf. Burton's *Hans Stade*, p. lxxvii (Hakluyt Society's Edition), and the *Art de vérifier les dates*, xiii. 441; Varnhagen's *Hist. do Brazil*, 2d ed., p. 72; and references in *Cat. Hist. Brazil, Bibl. Nac.*, i 478–479.

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disregard of the priority of Pinzon, now generally recognized, though certain Portuguese writers have been loath to acknowledge the Spanish claim.[1]

In 1501, on the report brought by Cabral's messenger ship, the Portuguese sent out an expedition under Gonçalo Coelho to follow up the discoveries; and in this expedition Vespucius may have sailed in some subordinate capacity, as cosmographer even, as is

[1] Cf. Santarem in the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris* (1847), vii. 319, and his enumeration of writers who accord priority to Cabral (Childe's translation of Santarem, p. 33, etc.). Cf. various illustrative and controversial works, etc., enumerated in *Cat. Hist. Brazil, Bibl. Nac.*, i. 479; also Ferd. Denis' *Une fête Brésilienne*, p. 51. Cabral's instructions are printed in Navarrete's *Coleccion*, iii. 45, 94, and they are found in Italian in the *Paesi novamente retrovate*, etc. His track is pricked in the mappemonde prefixed to Lafitau's *Histoire des découvertes des Portugais* (Paris, 1734). A letter of the Portuguese King, dated July 29, 1500, conveying tidings received from Cabral's messenger, Gaspar de Lemos, and addressed to the Spanish monarch, — *Copia de una littera del Re de Portagallo mãdata al Re de Castrella del viaggio e successo de India*, — was printed in Rome, Oct. 23, 1500, and again in Milan in 1505. Navarrete (vol. iii. p. 13) reprints it. There are copies in the Bibliotheca Marciana and Bibliotheca Corsini at Venice (Sabin, vol. vi. no. 22,407; Varnhagen, *Nouvelles recherches*, p. 18; *Bibl. Amer. Vet., Additions*, nos. 18, 19; Dr. Court's *Catalogue*, no. 83). Cf. further on this voyage, — Faria de Souza, *Asia Portugueza*, book i. chap. 5; De Cazal, *Corografia Brazilica*, i. 12; Barros, *Decada da Asia* (Lisbon, 1628), vol. i. chap. 30; Humboldt, *Examen critique*, i. 315, ii. 217, iv. 223, v. 53, 61, 71; Zurita, *Anales de Aragon*, vol. v.; Cancellieri, *Notizie di Colombo*, p. 48; Purchas, vol. i. book ii. p. 30; Badelli, *Milione*, vol. i. p. liv; Ruge, *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, p. 128. The accounts in Ramusio and Grynæus were translated into Spanish in the *Noticias das nacões ultramarinhas* (vol. ii.) of the Royal Academy of Lisbon. We know that Las Casas, in 1502, had possession of some notes by Columbus of the traces of lands to the west, which he had found in the accounts of Portuguese navigators (*Examen critique*, i. 21); but the earliest particularized extant account of the Portuguese discoveries in the new regions east and west is contained in the *Historia do descobrimento* by Ferñao Lopez de Castanheda, the first part of which was printed at Coimbra in 1551. It is, however, scant on the American voyages of the Portuguese (Sabin, vol. iii. no. 11,381, who also gives the later editions; *Bibliotheca Grenvilliana*). There seems to have been a reprint the same year, and a second edition in 1554, which was reprinted at Lisbon in 1797. Books ii. to vii. appeared in 1552–1554, and the eighth book in 1561, completing the work, which is rare in a full set. An entire reprint appeared at Lisbon in 1833 in seven volumes.

Of the first book a French version appeared at Paris in 1553, and a Spanish at Antwerp in 1554 (Murphy, no. 494; Court, nos. 53, 54). Two books appeared in Italian at Venice in 1577 (Carter-Brown, i. 311). A German translation was made from the French in 1565. An English version of the first book, made by Nicholas Lichefield, and dedicated to Sir Francis Drake, appeared in London in 1582, and was reprinted in Kerr's *Voyages*, ii. 292.

Castanheda was largely drawn upon by H. Osorius in his *De rebus Emmanuelis* (Cologne, 1581), which took a French version as *Histoire de Portugal* the same year, and in Dutch was called *Leven en bedrijf van Don Emanuel, Koning van Portugal*, Rotterdam, 1661–1663 (Sabin, vol. xiv. no. 57,804; Carter-Brown, i. 342; Muller, 1872, no. 1,160). There was an English book of about the same time covering nearly the same field, John Dauncey's *Compendious Chronicle of Portugal*, London, 1661 (Sabin, vol. v. no. 18,669; Bohn's *Lowndes*, p. 594).

The best known record, however, of the Portuguese maritime explorations was published in Paris in 1733 (two imprints), and again in 1733–1734. This was J. F. Lafitau's *Histoire des découvertes et conquestes des Portugais dans le nouveau monde*. The title is deceptive, for the book concerns mostly Asia and Africa; and the American portion is but a small part of its four volumes, and none of its engravings pertain to the western hemisphere. A Portuguese version was printed at Lisbon in 1786–1787 (Sabin, vol. x. no. 38,591, etc.; Carter-Brown, iii. 506–508; Leclerc, nos. 319–320, — 1601–1602). There is a recent contribution to the subject in a lithographed volume, E. A. de Bettencourt's *Descobrimentos, guerras e conquistas dos Portuguezes em terras do ultramar nos seculos XV. e XVI.* (Lisboa, 1881–1882). General histories of discovery, like Ruge's *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, and Varnhagen's *Historia do Brazil*, necessarily treat the subject more or less concisely. Cf. Luciano Cordeiro, "La part prise par les Portugais dans la découverte de l'Amérique," published in the *Compte-rendu* of the *Congrès des Américanistes*, 1875, i. 274. Santarem passes in review most of the writers in discussing the claims of Vespucius to having been on the coast in 1501 and 1503. See Vol II., chapter on "Vespucius."

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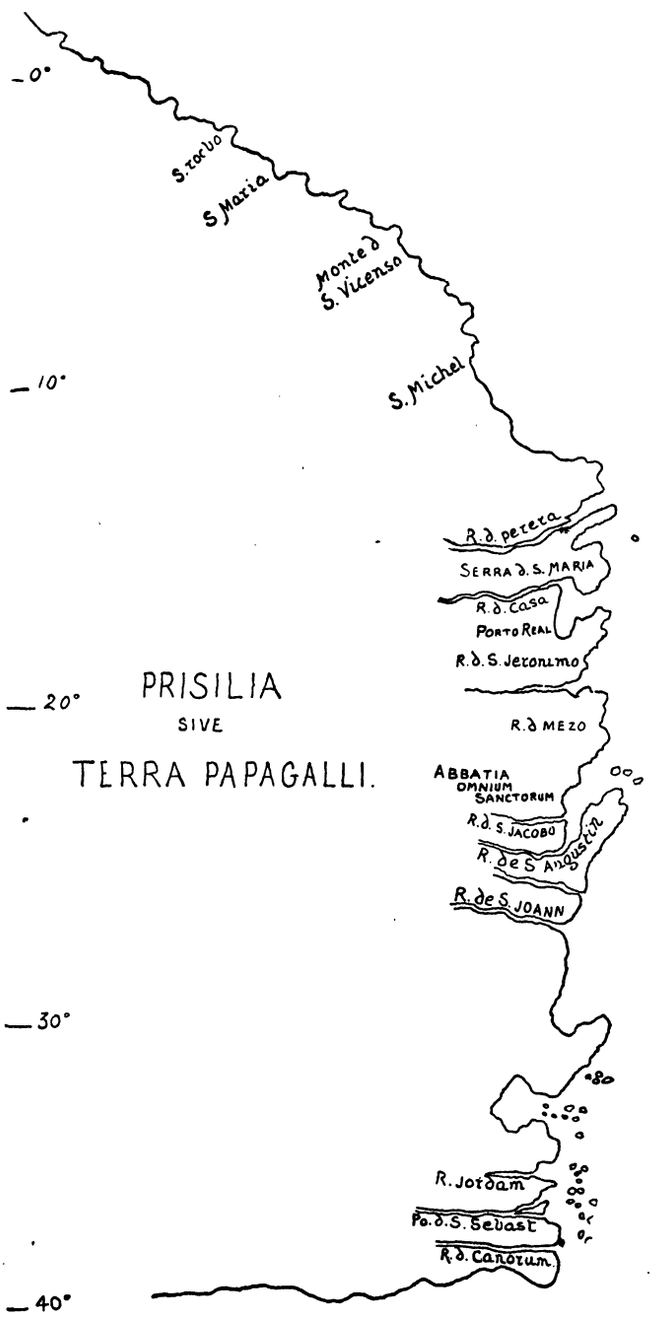
said.[1] Galvano places its track along the coast from the fifth degree to the thirty-second degree south. Varnhagen traces the nomenclature of the Brazilian coast, as we have it in the early maps, to this voyage of Gonçalo Coelho in 1501. On the return of Coelho, another fleet, commanded by Christovão Jaques, pushed the discoveries as far as the cape forming the northerly entrance of Magellan's Straits. Jaques on this expedition discovered the bay "Bahia de Todos os Sanctos" (San Salvador). This was in 1503; and in the same year Coelho led another expedition, sailing from Lisbon on the



LORENZ FRIESS, 1504.[2]

[1] See chapter ii. of the second volume.

[2] Lorenz Friess' sketch of the coast of Brazil in his *Carta marina navigatoria Portugalensium*, apparently, as Dr. Kohl thinks, drawn from the reports of Cabral and the other early navigators of 1500–1503. A legend in the north reads: "A dying person is killed in this country; his flesh smoked, roasted, and eaten." At the south another legend says: "They have sailed all along this coast, but have not as yet penetrated into the interior." Kohl thinks the "Abbatia" is a misreading of the Portuguese "a baia." It is claimed that Vespucius had written, mixing Spanish and Italian, "Bahia di tutti i sancti," but had made the first word, by his bad penmanship, "Badia." The *Carta* was published in 1530, and this map is no. 423 in Kohl's Collection.

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10th of June. The squadron of Alfonzo de Albuquerque, bound beyond the Cape of Good Hope, skirted the coast as Cabral had done, and cast anchor in one of the harbors, — as did the fleet of Francisco de Almeida two years later, and that of Tristam da Cunha in 1506.

The French claim even earlier visits. The pretended voyage of Jean Cousin has been mentioned elsewhere;[1] and when Las Casas mentions that the first discoverers of Hispaniola learned from the natives of earlier visits of white and bearded men, it has been very easy for the Norman antiquaries to connect this story with the alleged Cousin voyage of 1488. They grant, however, the lack of indubitable proof, but contend for the hardy Normans being on the Brazilian coast without doubt as early as 1497 and 1498, on the following evidence. Gonneville, in 1505, in describing his own voyage of 1503, speaks of his countrymen having preceded him some years ("aucunes années"); and Jean Parmentier's "Discorso d' un gran capitano" in Ramusio[2] is thought to indicate, in another way, a similarly early French traffic on the same coast.[3]

We come to less disputable ground for the French in 1503 in considering Paulmier de Gonneville's own voyage. He sailed from Honfleur in the latter part of that year, and found land Jan. 5, 1504, and shortly after harbored his vessel in the Rio San Francisco do Sul, under 26° 10′ south latitude. At least this is the port of refuge which is fixed for him by D'Avezac in his *Campagne du navire l'Espoir de Honfleur*, published in the *Annales des voyages*, June and July, 1869. This view is also entertained by Gravier in his *Les Normands sur la route des Indes*, and by Paul Gaffarel in his *Brésil Français*.[4] The French have scarcely admitted any question about this voyage since D'Avezac examined the evidence. It is claimed also that another Honfleur captain, Jean Denis, accompanied by a Rouen pilot, Gamart, was on the coast at the same moment with De Gonneville.[5]

The geographical problem which was given to all these early navigators to solve was, the extent of this new Santa Cruz coast southerly; and the anticipatory suspicion

[1] Vol. II. p. 34; also Vitet, *Histoire de Dieppe*, and extracts in Dussieux, *Grands faits de l'histoire de la géographie*, iii. 37.

[2] Cf. Vitet, *Histoire de Dieppe*, and Dussieux, *Grands faits de l'histoire de la géographie*, iii. 65.

[3] Gaffarel in *Congrès des Américanistes*, 1877, i. 419; and Gravier, *Les Normands sur la route des Indes*, p. 41; D'Avezac, *Nouvelles annales des voyages* (July, 1869). Popellinière, another Norman, insisted on the French discovery in his *Trois mondes* (1583).

[4] *Histoire du Brésil Français au seizième siècle* (Paris, 1878), p. 30 (Leclerc, no. 2,776); cf. also Gaffarel on the *Découverte du Brésil* in the *Compte-rendu, Congrès des Américanistes*, 1877 (vol. i. pp. 397, 426), which later became the first part of the *Histoire*. When the Abbé Binot Paulmier de Gonneville first published in his *Mémoire présenté au Pape Alexandre VII.*, Paris, 1663 (Court, nos. 267, 268), the account of his ancestor's voyage, from whom he was descended through an alliance, it is said, of the old navigator's daughter with one of the natives of the country, it was supposed or claimed that the land visited in 1503 was Madagascar (cf. Gaffarel, *Congrès des Américanistes*, 1877, i. 427, and references there cited), — a view held so lately as 1860 (August 15) by Baude in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. The error arose in part from the defective copy of the Relation which was printed in 1663. In 1847 Margry found in the Archives "la copie entière du procès-verbal de retour du 19 Juillet, 1505," which enabled him to determine that the landfall of De Gonneville was not in the Indian Ocean, but on the coast of Brazil (Margry, *Les navigations Françaises*, p. 156). Later Paul Lecroix discovered, among the manuscripts of the Marquis de Paulmy, the original *Déclaration du voyage du Capitaine Gonneville et ses compagnons ès Indes*, a copy of which he communicated to D'Avezac, who completed the demonstration (Gaffarel, *Congrès des Américanistes*, 1877, i. 430; see also Dussieux, *Grands faits de l'histoire de la géographie* ii. 54).

[5] Gaffarel, in his *Brésil Français*, p. 54, has traced the influence that the two Angos, father and son, enterprising ship-owners of Dieppe, at this time exerted through such voyages as this one of Jean Denis, in disputing the claims of the Portuguese and in establishing relations of trade between France and this part of the New World. The coast most frequented by the French was between Cape St. Augustine and Port Royal. Cf. Gosselin's *Marine Normande* (documents), p. 21; Desmarquets, *Mémoires de Dieppe;* also extracted in Dussieux' *Grands faits de l'histoire de la géographie*, iii. 32.

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naturally rife was, that it would be found to have an apex toward the South Pole, — as Africa had.

An examination has been made in another chapter[1] of the service in this direction which is claimed for Vespucius in the voyages of 1501 and 1503. In 1520 Albertus Pighius published at Paris his *De æquinoctiorum solstitiorũque inventione*, in which he spoke of Vespucius' discoveries, down to the latitude of 35° south, along a coast which for its magnitude is called the New World, and "the end is not yet found."[2] Humboldt[3] found proof in the Ptolemy of 1508 that the Portuguese had up to that year explored to the fiftieth degree of south latitude, but "without reaching its southern extremity," — as the legend on Ruysch's map says.

In that and the following year (1508–1509) Vicente Yañez Pinzon and Juan Diaz de Solis had coasted the shore of Brazil from Cape St. Augustine to the fortieth degree south, but had failed to find the La Plata. Herrera[4] represents them as going below to the River Colorado. Jealousy and distrust existed between the commanders, and their ships returned to Spain near the end of 1509.

The discovery of Balbóa in 1513, and the experience of the Portuguese in rounding the southern point of Africa, naturally prompted the belief that by the south of Brazil, as the continental mass of South America was now called,[5] a similar southern cape would show a passage to the great southern sea, of which Balbóa had found the supposed northern limits, on the theory that North America was continuous with Asia. Ferdinand Columbus already in 1511, in a manuscript treatise which is preserved to us, his *Colon de concordia*, had maintained the possibility of such a passage.[6]

In November, 1514, Pedrárias Dávilla and Juan Diaz de Solis had been commissioned to find this western passage;[7] and sailing in October, 1515, Solis found the La Plata[8] in the following January, and in exploring it in boats from his ships he and his companions were captured, roasted, and eaten within sight of their shipmates.

It is a question which geographers and historians discuss with uncertain results whether, antecedent to Magellan, anybody had actually found a limit to South America toward the Antarctic Pole.[9] We have the report which Sebastian Alvarez made from

[1] See Vol. II. p. 151.

[2] "Necdum finis inventus," *Examen critique*, iv. 145; *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 107.

[3] *Examen critique*, ii. 5, 9.

[4] Edition of 1730, vol. i. p. 177.

[5] Wieser finds the name Brazil, as applied to Cabral's *Sancta Cruz*, in use ever after 1504, citing as the earliest instance the "terra nova de Prisilli" of the *Beschreibung der Meerfahrt von Lissabon nach Calacut* of that year, published in the *Jahresberichte* of the "Kreisverein für Schwaben und Neuberg" (Augsburg, 1861), p. 160; as well as Giovanni da Empoli's use of the term "la terra della Vera Croce, over del Bresil," in Ramusio (Venice, 1563), vol. i. folio 145. Cf. Humboldt, *Kritische Untersuchungen*, iii. 99. Humboldt pointed out how some form of the word Brazil had been in use in Europe for centuries, to designate a red dyewood, and it was only newly applied in the present case. Cf. Gaffarel, *Congrès des Américanistes*, 1877, i. 422, and notes to his edition of Thevet, p. 307, and De Lery, ii. 183; Hartt's *Geology of Brazil*, vol. i. p. x; E. E. Hale in *Amer. Antiq. Soc. Proc.*, April, 1867.

[6] Harrisse, *Ferd. Colomb*, pp. 10, 52.

[7] Navarrete, iii. 48, 134, 357; Lelewel, ii. 164; Humboldt, *Examen critique*, i. 320, 350; ii. 19; Galvano, Hakluyt Society's edition, p. 122. Wieser thinks (p. 57) that we have in the map given by Kunstmann (*Atlas*, pl. iv.) a Portuguese copy of the map which Solis prepared at this time of the way to India.

[8] The name La Plata was not given to the river till 1527, when some silver plates found there in the hands of the natives suggested it. Cf. Pedro de Angelis, *Coleccion de obras y documentos relativos á la historia antigua y moderna de las provincias del Rio de la Plata. Ilustrados con notas y disertaciones.* Buenos-Aires, 1836, 1837.

[9] The latest discussions of the question of knowledge antecedent to Magellan of this southern limit of South America and its straits have been by Dr. Kohl in his *Geschichte der Entdeckungsreisen und Schiff-fahrten zur Magellan's-Strasse* (Berlin, 1877), taken from the *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde in Berlin*, vol. xl.; by Dr. F. Wieser in his *Magalhães-Strasse und Austral-Continent auf den Globen des Johannes Schöner. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Erdkunde im xvi. Jahrhundert* (Innsbruck,

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Seville, July 18, 1519, to the King of Portugal as to the cartographical equipment with which Magellan was said to be supplied; and these charts showed no land between Cape Frio on the Brazilian coast and the Moluccas. It was stated that the maps were such as Diego Ribero made for his living.[1] This would seem to indicate a type of map, represented by the Ptolemy of 1513 and the Reisch of 1515,[2] in which South America ends abruptly at about forty degrees south, with an unknown coast beyond, but supposably running to the west on a parallel of latitude. Peschel[4] points out how maps antecedent to Magellan end with the Cabo de Sta. Maria (near Montevideo, thirty miles east of the mouth of the La Plata), and refers to the Maiollo map of 1519 and the Portuguese chart.[5]

CAPE FRIO.[3]

There seems to be little doubt that Magellan, as Pigafetta says, had seen in the royal palace at Lisbon a chart of Martin Behaim which represented South America to end in a point; but it by no means follows that Behaim or any other navigator had ever found that point, for conjecture was rife in Europe at this time, and a passage by the south was not the only passage that now and for some years to come map-makers were to put upon their charts without warrant in fact. There is an interval between 1494 and his death in 1506 or 1507 when Behaim could have made such a voyage of discovery; but we have no record of it, nor is it probable.[6]

Las Casas[7] also reports that he saw Magellan in the antechamber of Fonseca; that Magellan showed him a globe in which the coast of South America was extended to the Cabo de Sta. Maria, and said to him that he expected to find a passage still farther south.

Either from conjecture or inference from analogy, if not from knowledge, it is certain that there had been made sundry delineations of South America during the eight or ten years previous to the sailing of Magellan which did not treat the problem with the same uncertainty. If we except the Stobnicza map,[8] which hesitated to define this southern

1881); also put forth in effect in the *Mittheilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, in 1881; and by Ruge in his *Zeitalter der Entdeckungen*, 1883.

[1] Stanley's *Magellan*, p. xliv.

[2] See Vol. II. pp. 111, 114.

[3] This follows a sketch given in Hartt's *Geology and Geography of Brazil*, p. 39. Cape Frio is where the coast turns westerly just north of Rio de Janeiro.

[4] *Erdkunde*, p. 275.

[5] Kunstmann, pl. iv. and v.

[6] Among the earlier believers in the prediscovery of Behaim are Wilhelm Postel, *Compendium geographicæ disciplinæ* (1561); B. Varenius, *Geographia generalis* (Amsterdam, 1671). Cf. Humboldt, *Kritische Untersuchungen*, i. 296, and Harrisse, *Bibl. Amer. Vet.* p. 38. In later days Behaim's anticipatory discovery has been contended for by Ghillany in his *Martin Behaim* and by Ziegler in his *Martin Behaim aus Nürnberg, der geistige Entdecker Amerika's* (Dresden, 1859). The recent doubters have been Oscar Peschel, both in his *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen* and in his *Geschichte der Erdkunde;* and writers like Humboldt, Varnhagen, Lelewel, and Kohl have either ignored the claim of Behaim, or have considered merely as speculative any configuration of such a strait which he may have made.

[7] *Historia*, lib. iii. cap. 100.

[8] Fac-simile in Vol. II. p. 116. Wieser (*Magalhães-Strasse*, p. 11) considers the Stobnicza map as only a rough copy of the "Tabula Terræ Novæ" (1507) of the Ptolemy of 1513, as given in Vol. II. p. 112.

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extremity, what is perhaps the earliest of these representations, the Lenox globe,[1] has curiously something like the actual fling of the southern end of the continent toward the east, as we now know to be the fact, but which for a hundred years to come was not again to be given so well. One is prompted to associate this appearance with the Dragon's Tail of the map which Galvano[2] mentions as brought back from Italy to Portugal by Don Pedro, the King's eldest son, in the early part of the fifteenth century.[3] Of not far from the same date is the drawing in the Queen's collection at Windsor, which, from Major's description, is usually cited as the Da Vinci map. It gives us an insular "America," and puts down Cape Frio as very near the southern extremity.[4]

The authority of both the Lenox and Da Vinci representations is anonymous; but in 1515 we come to the delineation of a well-known cosmographer, Schöner, and in his globe of that year, of which the Frankfort globe is said to be a duplicate, an absolute southern limit to the continent is given; but it is put too far north, offering a suspicion that the passage through the continent may have been a misconception of some more northerly inlet, as Wieser suggests. A sketch of this globe from Wieser's drawing is given on an earlier page,[5] with a note on the authorities. Of its congener, the Frankfort globe, as Wieser considers it, there is a sketch in Jomard and in Kohl's treatise on Magellan's Straits, which shows how nearly alike the two are, though Kohl and others have placed the Frankfort globe under 1520. On the northern shore of South America the discoveries are credited, in legends upon it, to navigators sailing under orders from the King of Spain, while the southeastern coast is said to have been discovered by explorers of the King of Portugal. Another sketch (annexed) from Ruge's *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen* (p. 461) shows a part of the 1515 Schöner globe in its relations to the correct outline of South America, according to modern maps.

Schöner might well have used the "Admiral's map;"[6] but as he has additional names, it is an interesting inquiry what other source availed him. There is preserved in a notebook of Schöner's, in the Hofbibliothek at Vienna, a sketch of a world-map which seems

[1] Of about 1510–1512; see sketch in Vol. II. pp. 123, 170.

[2] One of the earliest to treat the narratives of navigators in an historical spirit was a Portuguese, Antonio Galvano. He was born in Lisbon in 1503, and at an early age (in 1527) he had been intrusted with an important command in the Moluccas, where for several years he ruled too rigorously and wisely to escape detraction. This active career fitted him to judge broadly of the pursuits of explorers; and being industrious by habit, Galvano gathered much material from reading and observation, and in his later days, while official employment had been taken from him, he fashioned his notes into a treatise on the history of discovery. Galvano died in a Lisbon hospital in 1557, but he had brought his chronicle down to 1550. He left the manuscript to a friend, Francisco de Souza, who published it at Lisbon in 1563 as *Tratado dos diversos & desuayrados caminhos . . . & assi de todos os descobrimentos antigos & modernos.* The book is extremely rare; three copies are known, one of which is in the Carter-Brown Library (*Catalogue*, i. 241). Richard Hakluyt published it at London in 1601 as *The Discoveries of the World from their first Originall unto the year of our Lord* 1555 (Carter-Brown, ii. 1.; Murphy, no. 1,005). The translator says of it that "though small in bulk, it containeth so much rare and profitable matter that I know not where to seek the like, within so narrow and straight a compass." The original 1563 edition seems to have been rare even then, for Hakluyt had sent in vain for it to Lisbon, to correct an English version which had come into his hands before printing it. The Hakluyt Society reprinted this English version in 1862, and appended to it the original Portuguese text, using the Carter-Brown copy, — the whole edited by Admiral Bethune. This version was reprinted in the later edition of Hakluyt's Collection and in that of Churchill. It is abridged in Purchas. The original Portuguese text was reprinted at Lisbon in 1731 (Carter-Brown, iii. 469; Murphy, no. 1,003).

[3] Galvano, Hakluyt Society's edition, p. 67. "The Streight of Magelan was called in it the Dragon's taile." One remembers that an aperture in the coast-line at the northern end of the continent had already been called "the dragon's mouth." When Galvano wrote his treatise he spoke of Magellan's voyage as not at that time having been "exactly written."

[4] This map is sketched in Vol. II. pp. 124, 125, 126.

[5] See Vol. II. p. 118.

[6] See Vol. II. p. 112.

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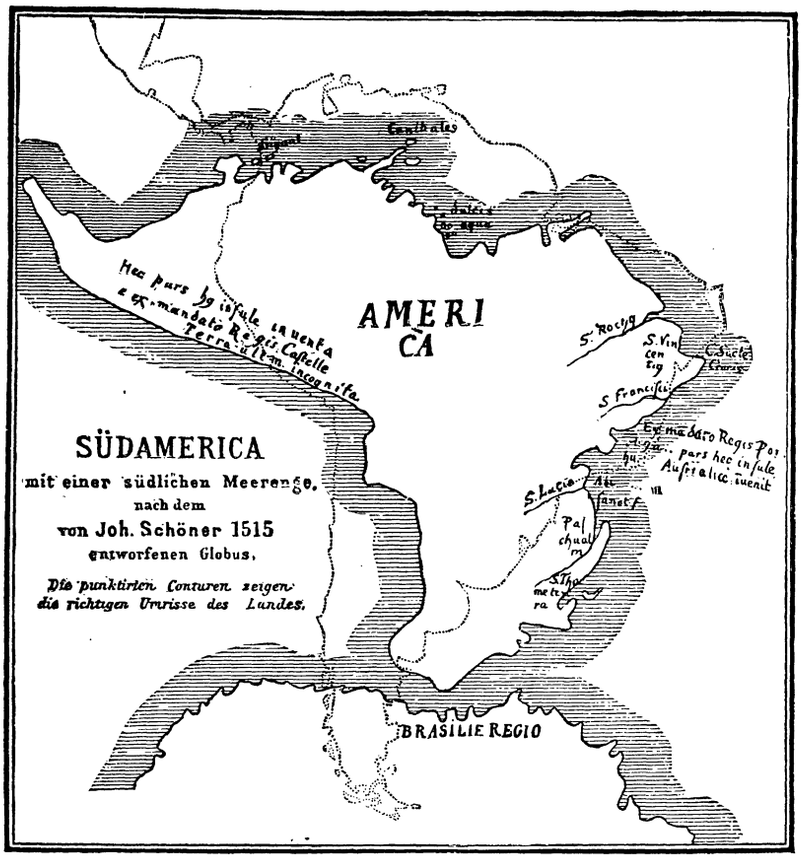

SCHÖNER, 1515 (*Ruge*).

to have been based on the map of 1513 in Ptolemy.[1] He might, of course, have used the information of the *Paesi novamente retrovati* (1507); but as his Latin is not that of the version called *Itinerarium portugallensium*, it is most probable that he knew its text in the German of Ruchamer, with whom, it would seem, he stood indeed in certain personal relations.[2] Some points he doubtless got from Rüysch; but from neither of these, nor from Stobnicza, could he have got the straits at Panamá, which at a time not far from this was made to appear in the Lenox globe and in two globes of the Hauslab Collection at Vienna.[3]

In his *Luculentissima quædam terræ totius descriptio*, Schöner had distinctly averred that the Portuguese had found a passage separating the New World from the "Brasiliæ regio." It is not easy to determine how far this belief grew out of a certain undated

[1] Cf. Wieser, p. 15.

[2] Wieser traces this out, pp. 17, 18.

[3] Varnhagen in his *Schöner e Apiano* argues that of these two early globes in the Hauslab Collection, — one, engraved, was the work of Waldseemüller in 1509; the other, a manuscript delineation, should be dated about 1513. Wieser (*Magalhães-Strasse*, p. 27) thinks these dates problematical.

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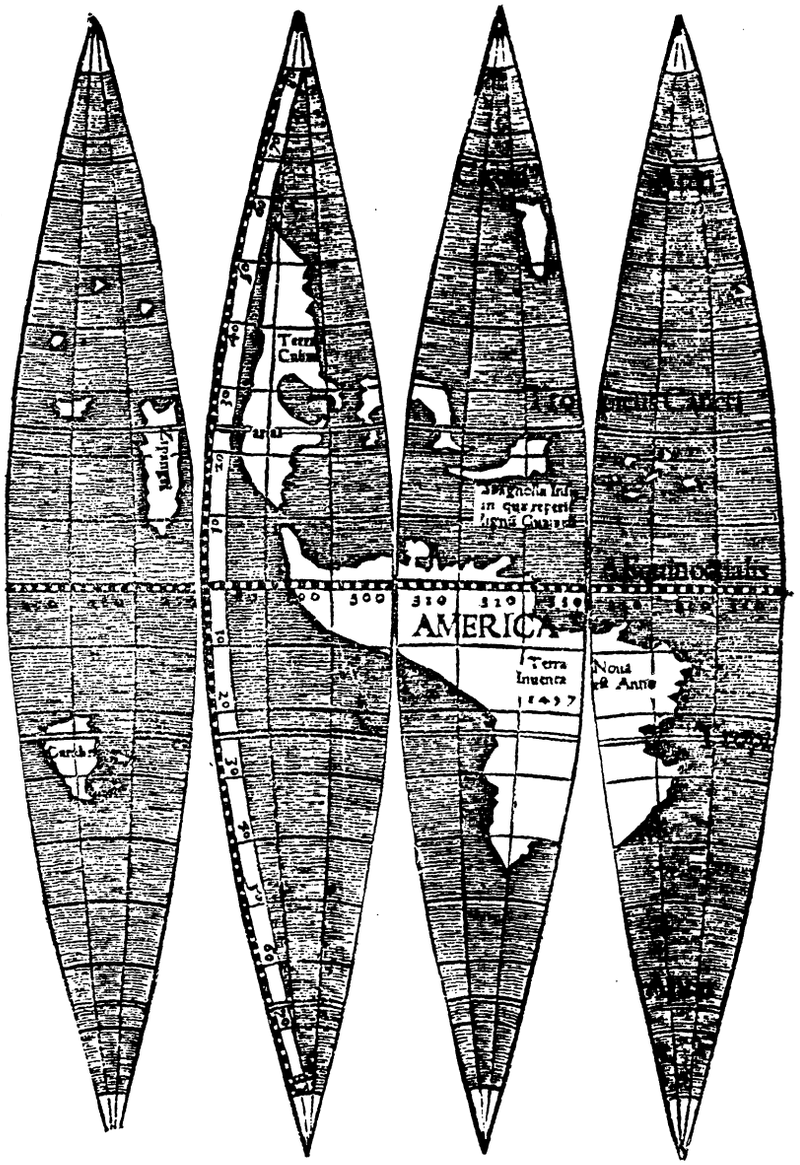

SECTION OF A MAPPEMONDE IN GORES EARLY IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.[1]

anonymous tract, the publication of which is to be placed somewhere in the beginning of the sixteenth century. This little fugitive publication, called *Copia der Newen Zeytung*

[1] This is the American part of the gores of an early globe given in fac-simile by the Baron A. E. Nordenskiöld in a pamphlet, *Om en märklig Globkarta från Början af sexton de selket*, printed from the Journal of the Swedish Society of Anthropology and Geography at Stockholm

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auss Presillg Landt, has given rise to a variety of views as regards the identification of the voyage which it chronicles and the date at which it should be put. Some writers, like Sophus Ruge,[1] deem it indeed wholly apocryphal. Humboldt was the first to draw attention to it,[2] and he thought it chronicled some voyage to Magellan's Straits between 1525 and 1540.

Wieser finds sufficient correspondence between the Schöner globe of 1515 and this *Copia* to believe that Schöner derived more or less of his information from it. It is, moreover, the oldest, as he thinks, of all issues called "Zeitung." The parallels pointed out by Wieser (p. 29) are curious, and perhaps conclusive. Of this Portuguese expedition one "Nono" and a certain "Cristoffel de Haro" had been promoters. De Haro is known as a rich Antwerp merchant who contributed to the expenses of Magellan's voyage, and presumably incurred some of the displeasure which the Portuguese Court bestowed upon Magellan and his adherents. This, in Wieser's judgment, is enough to show that the connection with the Portuguese authorities on De Haro's part must have been earlier than Magellan's voyage, and not later, as Humboldt places it. Varnhagen, in his *Historia geral do Brazil* (Madrid, 1854), had connected the *Copia* with the Solis and Pinzon voyages of 1508; but he was driven from this position by the criticism of D'Avezac, and then dated the supposed voyage back to that of Vasco Gallego de Carvalho and Joâo de Lisboa in 1506; and again later he moved the identity still farther back to the expedition of Gonçalo Coelho in 1503,[3] in which Vespucius is supposed to have taken part, but had returned earlier than his commander. Where Coelho, with the two ships remaining to him, went is without record, except we follow Varnhagen's final belief that this *Copia* is such a record. Weller assumes the year to be 1505, and assigns it to Vespucius himself; but without satisfying the critics.

in 1884, and translated into English in the *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society*, 1884, p. 222. It was discovered pasted within a copy of the Ptolemy of 1525. Baron Nordenskiöld claims for it that it preceded Apian's map of 1520, and was produced even before Schöner's *Luculentissima descriptio* and the *Newe Zeytung auss Presilig Landt*. The same pamphlet has fac-similes of a map of the Old World, which he calls *Præcolumbisk Verldskarta ur Johannis Eshcuidi summa Anglicana*, 1489, and of the 1520 map of Apianus. I am obliged to General James Grant Wilson for drawing my attention to Baron Nordenskiöld's tract, which that author has kindly sent to me; but I am not inclined to place the gores so early as Nordenskiöld does. He dissents from Wieser's opinion that it is a work of Apianus after he settled at Ingoldstadt as professor in 1527, and inclines to believe that it was drawn from the same or similar sources as the Schöner globe of 1515. The view of Mr. William H. Tillinghast (*Nation*, New York, Feb. 26, 1885, p. 183) is: "It may safely be assigned to the period 1515–1518; it may with equal safety be remanded to the second quarter of the century, as it is not a whit cruder than the map of Münster in 1532," — and this view is acceptable. The shape of the Island Cuba is altogether different from anything which has been noticed in other maps. The appearance of the map indicates that the type inscriptions were registered to be printed after the woodcut had been worked. This was done in the map in the Ptolemy of 1511, and that has usually been considered the earliest instance of such a process.

[1] *Jahresbericht des Vereins für Erdkunde in Dresden*, vols. iv. and v., and his *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, p. 459.

[2] The only copy then known was in the Hofbibliothek at Dresden. Wieser (p. 86) now says there are ten copies known, three of which are in America, and they all show such differences as indicate that three editions were printed at Augsburg. Cf. *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, p. xlix, and nos. 99 and 100; Carter-Brown, vol. i. no. 62; Sabin, vol. vi. no. 22,405; *Bibliotheca Grenvilliana*, p. 835.

The earliest modern presentation of the tract was in French by Ternaux-Compans in his *Archives des voyages* (1840), ii. 306. Cf. also Humboldt, *Examen critique*, v. 239. The original German has been reproduced by Ruge in the *Jahresberichte des Vereins für Erdkunde in Dresden* (1868), p. 16; by Weller in the *Bibliothek des lit. Vereins in Stuttgart* (1872), iii. 5; and by Wieser in his *Magalhães-Strasse*, p. 99. Varnhagen has given a great part of it in Portuguese in his *Historia geral do Brazil*, i. 434, and in his *Nouvelles recherches*, p. 49.

[3] *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, 1857, p. 169, and and also the volume for 1858, p. 233; and Varnhagen's *Nouvelles recherches*, etc., pp. 11, 50.

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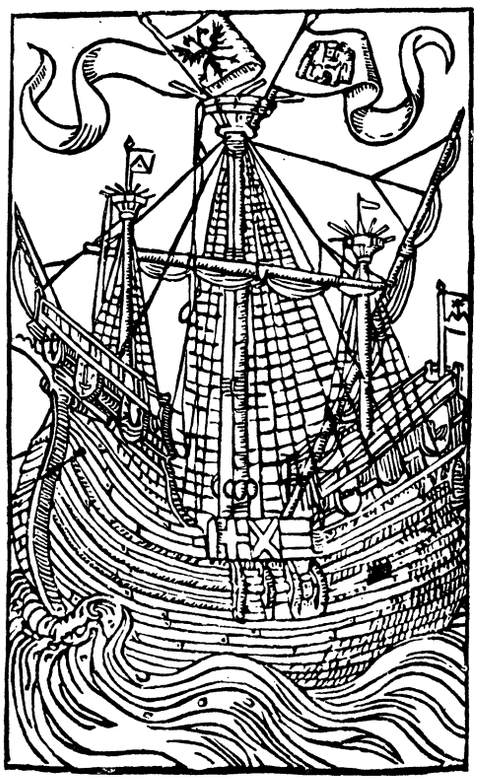
Wieser (p. 91) thinks the account refers to an expedition which must have been conducted before 1509, in which year the Portuguese first reached the Moluccas; and the members of the expedition evidently believed South America to be a peninsula of Asia.

D'Avezac places the expedition no more definitely than in the first years of the sixteenth century. Harrisse and others have held that as Oglin, the printer of the *Copia*, is not known to have printed later than 1516, the printing, at all events, must be put earlier than that date; but Wieser shows (p. 88) that there are imprints of Oglin as late as 1520 at least.

Wieser also thinks the *Copia* could not have been printed before the end of 1508, because Ruchamer would have included it in his *Newe unbekanthe Landte* if it had been; and with the copy in the Dresden Library there is bound up another tract of similar typographical appearance, which is known to be of that year.

Ruge, in his *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, p. 459, places the printing of the *Copia* at Augsburg in 1508–1509. Gabriel Gravier, as we have seen, connects it with the voyage of Nuño Manuel and Vespucius in 1501, and points out various correspondences in what we know of that voyage with the account of the *Copia*.[2]



AN ANTWERP SHIP.[1]

Wieser (p. 94) points out the internal evidence that the *Copia* was a translation from an Italian original, probably the report of some agent of an Italian business house written from Lisbon; or perhaps, as Harrisse suggests, the original of all may have been in Portuguese.

In Wieser's judgment the Bavarian and Swabian dialectic peculiarities of the *Copia* indicate that the German rendering of it was the work of a German merchant in Italy,—a correspondent, it may be, of some Augsburg House, probably the well-known House of Welser, who are known to have had business agencies in Italian cities and close mercantile relations with Lisbon.[3]

The *Copia* speaks of Brazil ending with a passage, that reminded the voyager of the Straits of Gibraltar; but it puts the latitude of it at forty degrees south, or about twelve degrees too far north, which induces Wieser to believe that the supposed passage was a misconception of the Gulf of St. Mathias, which, in the northern parts of the east coast of Patagonia, lies about under forty degrees, as the account says.

[1] Reduced fac-simile used as a device by Mathias van der Goes, printer in Antwerp, 1482–1494, taken from cut reproduced in Bigmore and Wyman's *Bibliography of Printing*, i. 270.

[2] *Les Normands sur la route des Indes* (Rouen, 1880), p. 44.

[3] Johannes Falke, *Geschichte des Deutschen Handels*, ii. 30. References in Wieser, p. 97.

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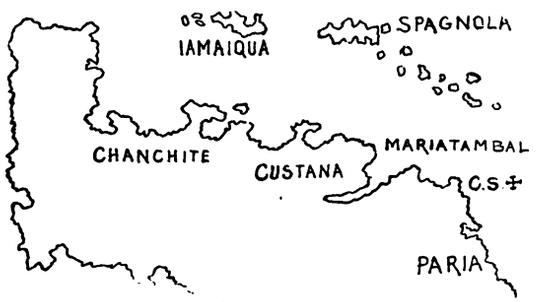
As we approach the date of Magellan's voyage we encounter several other maps or globes, which give us the ideas prevailing just before the return of Del Cano in the "Victoria," Sept. 6, 1522. The makers of some of these may possibly have availed themselves of the conjectures which the partial exploration by the "San Antonio," under Gomez, had given rise to, and which Gomez was able to report on his earlier arrival, May 6, 1521. One of these is the series of gores, of somewhat uncertain date, to which the name of the Paris bookseller, Tross, has become attached, and of which a fac-simile is given on an earlier page;[1] another is the later globe of Schöner of 1520, long known by his name, also elsewhere figured;[2] and a third is the map of Apianus which appeared in Camers' edition of Solinus in 1520, of which a fac-simile of the South American portion has already been given.[3] A much less satisfactory idea belongs to a map, ascribed to 1521, which appeared in Bordone's *Isolario*, and called by him "Terra Santa Croce." It seemingly applies the same name to the easterly cape, — probably our St. Augustine. The four names, Chanchite, Custana, Mariatambal (introduced by Pinzon), and Paria (by Columbus), are those of provinces.[4] The map, however, more commonly known at this time was probably that of Lorenz Friess (Laurentius Frisius), which appeared in the Ptolemy of 1522, and which has already been given in fac-simile.[5]



BORDONE, 1521.

These then were the views which Magellan was to confirm or disprove. We know from Pigafetta that he had determined, in searching for the passage or for the extremity of the continent, to follow the coast to 75° S. latitude; and if he found neither in that range, to steer for Madagascar by the African cape. How he found a passage has been already told.[6] The only map which has come to us immediately growing out of his discoveries is the rude sketch of the Straits which Pigafetta gives, and which it may be convenient to compare with modern surveys.

[1] Page 120, Vol. II.

[2] Page 119, Vol. II.

[3] See Vol. II. p. 183.

[4] This map was not printed till 1528, but it is supposed by Lelewel to have been made at least as early as 1521, and was in use in Bordone, with others, for many years. Lelewel at least places the map at this early date on account of the record of license, and (pl. 46) gives a sketch of it. It was not made public till Bordone annexed it to a book, of which the title reads, *Libro di Benedetto Bordone*. It was published at Venice in 1528; and besides a much misshapen contour of the New World, as shown in the annexed sketch, it contained (p. 10) also a bird's eye view of "la gran citta di Temistitan" (Mexico), with one of the earliest descriptions which we have in any general work (Bancroft, *Mexico*, i. 280). Bordone died in 1531; and though Graesse reports an edition in 1532, followed by Sabin (vol. ii. no. 6,418), the next edition usually recognized is that of 1534, in which the title became *Isolario*, — a designation retained through all subsequent editions, as published at Venice. These were issued in 1537 (?), 1547, and 1548. They have three double maps, and one hundred and five (increased to one hundred and eight later) small maps in the text. Cf. Sabin, vol. ii. nos. 6,417, 6,420; Lelewel, vol. ii. nos. 114, 162; Carter-Brown, i. 91, 108, 122, 144, 355; Harrisse, *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, nos. 145, 187, 221, 275; *Additions*, no. 107; Brunet, *Manual*, vol. i. col. 1,112; Murphy, no. 2,833; Zurla's *Marco Polo*, ii. 363-366; Lenglet du Fresnoy, *Méthode pour étudier la géographie*, i. 419; Renouard, *Annales des Alde*, i. 142, 338, 339; H. H. Bancroft, *Central America*, i. 144, and *Mexico*, i. 281: Leclerc, nos. 72, 2,678; Rich (1832), nos. 18, 19; Muller (1872), no. 125; *Bibliotheca Grenvilliana*, iii. 57; Graesse, i. 495. The 1528 and 1547 editions have been recently priced at 100 and 60 marks respectively. F. S Ellis (1884, no. 31) has recently priced the 1547 edition at £7 10*s*.

[5] See Vol. II. p. 175.

[6] Vol. II.

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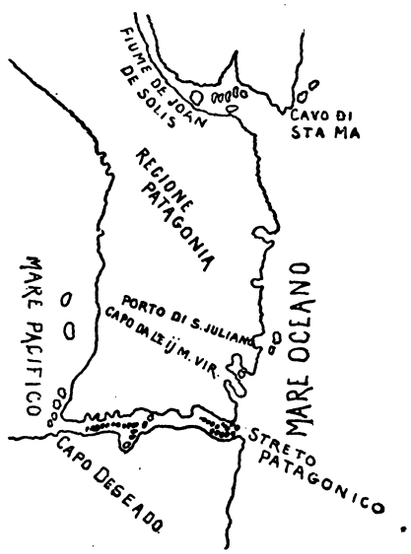
An immediate result of Magellan's discovery was to bring in question the longitude of the Moluccas, to which the Spaniards had thus found a western way, as the Portuguese had earlier found it by the east. It was necessary to determine their longitude in relation to the Cape de Verde Islands and to the papal Line of Demarcation. A serious question thus early arose as to the meridian of these Atlantic islands, and the placing of that line on the Atlantic side as governing its position on the Pacific hemisphere. Accordingly, the two Crowns of Spain and Portugal convened, shortly after Del Cano's return, a congress of learned cosmographers and navigators at Badajos and Elvas, at which they alternately sat, these two places being contiguous and on opposite sides of the frontier line between these rival Powers. Among the famous men in attendance was Ferdinand Columbus, who put in evidence as an expert three documents, which are printed by Navarrete. The variances between the representatives of the two Crowns were greater than could be reconciled, each viewing the physical facts, which were necessarily the basis of a determination, as would best suit their respective claims on the Asiatic shore. There was seventy leagues' difference in the position of the Cape de Verde Islands on the maps which they respectively produced. They could not agree upon the particular island of the group from which to calculate the distance to the papal line, and this made another seventy leagues' difference; for the Portuguese insisted upon the most eastern, and the Spanish upon the most western island.[2] So nothing was settled; the congress broke up May 31, 1524, and the solution was left to the drift of events which culminated finally in 1529 in the convention of Saragossa, by which the Moluccas were confirmed to Portugal, as ratified by the Portuguese King, June 20, 1530. The Spanish monarch thus abrogated his claim to them, as is shown in a *carta nautica* of the Spanish map-maker, Nuño Garcia de Toreno (dated 1522), preserved in the Royal Library at Turin.[4]



MAGELLAN'S STRAITS (*Pigafetta*).[1]

RECENT SURVEY OF MAGELLAN'S STRAITS.[3]

[1] See a fac-simile in Vol. II. p. 605.

[2] Cf. Vol. II. p. 45, and the documents in Navarrete, iv. 326, etc.

[3] This follows a map, "nach den neuesten Aufnahmen" in Kohl's *Magellan's-Strasse* (Berlin 1877). A map of the survey of the Straits and Tierra del Fuego, made in 1826–1830 by his Majesty's ships "Adventure" and "Beagle," is in the *Journal of the Roy. Geog. Soc.* (1832), i. 155. Cf. the map in *Tour du monde*, iii. 227, and elsewhere.

[4] *Studi biog.*, etc., vol. ii. no. 411. Cf. Herrera, *Descripcion*, dec. 3, lib. vi. cap. 3–8; Navarrete,

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Meanwhile, new efforts were made by the Spaniards to push their advantage westward. Gomez, the recreant pilot of Magellan, was sent to explore the eastern coast of the present United States, to find, if possible, a passage by the north, as has been told elsewhere.[1]

The French also, in the voyage of Verrazano, endeavored, if we accept the accounts, to gain their share in the new progress, as illustrated in the Verrazano map.[2] To the south the Spaniards sent Loyasa in 1525,[3] who succeeded in finding the Straits which Magellan had passed through; while one of his vessels, driven south as far as fifty-five degrees in February, 1526, discovered Cape Horn; and the insular character of Tierra del Fuego was thus early divined, though the fact was kept secret from the world.[4]

In 1526 Sebastian Cabot was sent in command of four vessels to follow Loyasa on the route to the Spice Islands. When he had reached the La Plata he undertook the exploration of it, and never went farther on his way to India. Five years were spent here in encampments and boat expeditions. The main river and its tributaries were explored to points over a thousand miles from the sea. He was so impressed with the resources of the country that he sent reports to Spain, and asked for reinforcements to effect the settlement of the region; but delays in their coming discouraged him, and he set sail for Spain, with drafts and reports which the map-makers made good use of in plentifully bifurcating the La Plata on their maps.[5]

The belief in a great Antarctic continent, through ignorance, or misunderstanding of the Spanish discovery of Cape Horn, was soon firmly established, the Straits of Magellan forming its northern limits. We find it thus in the map of the Monk Franciscus; in the map which Thorne, the Englishman, sent from Seville in 1527;[6] and in the fac-simile of a map given in the *Cartas de Indias*.

iv. 310; Jones's edition of Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages*, p. 47; also such general accounts as those of Peter Martyr, Oviedo, and Gomara; also Varnhagen's *Historia geral do Brazil*, second edition, p. 68, with map.

[1] Vol. IV. p. 24.

[2] Given in Vol. IV. p. 26. E. Gosselin in his *Documents . . . de la marine Normande* (Rouen, 1876), enumerates (p. 142) some of the voyages made from Norman ports to Brazil and parts adjacent after 1523.

[3] Galvano, Hakluyt Society's edition, p. 165.

[4] Drake in October, 1578, did the same, calling its most southern cape "Terra nunc bene cognita." A sketch of Hondius' map, illustrating Drake's voyage, is given in Kohl's *Magellan's-Strasse*. Schouten, however, in 1616 was the first actually to double Cape Horn from the east. "The merit of the discovery of the southernmost extremity of the new continent in fifty-five degrees south latitude," says Humboldt (*Cosmos*, Eng. tr., ii. 642, iv. 339), "is due to Francis de Hoces, who commanded one of Loyasa's ships in 1525. It is very characteristically described in Urdaneta's Journal by the words *acabamiento de tierra*, — the ceasing of the land. De Hoces probably saw a portion of Tierra del Fuego west of Staten Island; for Cape Horn is situated, according to Fitzroy, in 55° 58′ 41″. See Navarrete, v. 28, 404."

[5] Cabot got little credit from any but the cartographers. The Council of the Indies would have sent him into exile for his shortcomings; except for the clemency of the Emperor. The legend on the Cabot map of 1544 regarding this La Plata expedition is given by Harrisse in his *Cabots*, p. 356, where that author refers to the original sources for this voyage, printed in the Rawdon Brown *Calendar*, vol. iii. no. 115; to the *Relazioni di Ambasciatori* (Veneti), 2d ser., ii. 9; Navarrete, v. 456, 457; various manuscripts in the Archives of the Indies; a letter of Luis Ramirez, July 10, 1528, published by Varnhagen in the *Revista do Inst. Hist.* (*Trimensal*), Rio de Janeiro, 1852, p. 14, also in the *Nouvelles annales des voyages* (1843), iii. 39; a letter of Simão Alfonso in Varnhagen's *Brazil*, etc.; and such early accounts as Galvano's (Hakluyt Society's edition, p. 169), etc. Cf. Vol. III. pp. 4, 48; Pierre François Xavier de Charlevoix's *Histoire du Paraguay*, 1516–1547 (Paris, 1756), and modern summaries like Charles A. Washburn's *History of Paraguay*, i. 7, — the work of a United States Minister to Asuncion, published at Boston in 1871, — and Sir Woodbine Parish's *Buenos Ayres and the provinces of the Rio de la Plata; from their discovery and conquest by the Spaniards to the establishment of their political independence.* Second edition, enlarged, with a new map and illustrations (London, 1852).

[6] See fac-simile in Vol. III. p. 17.

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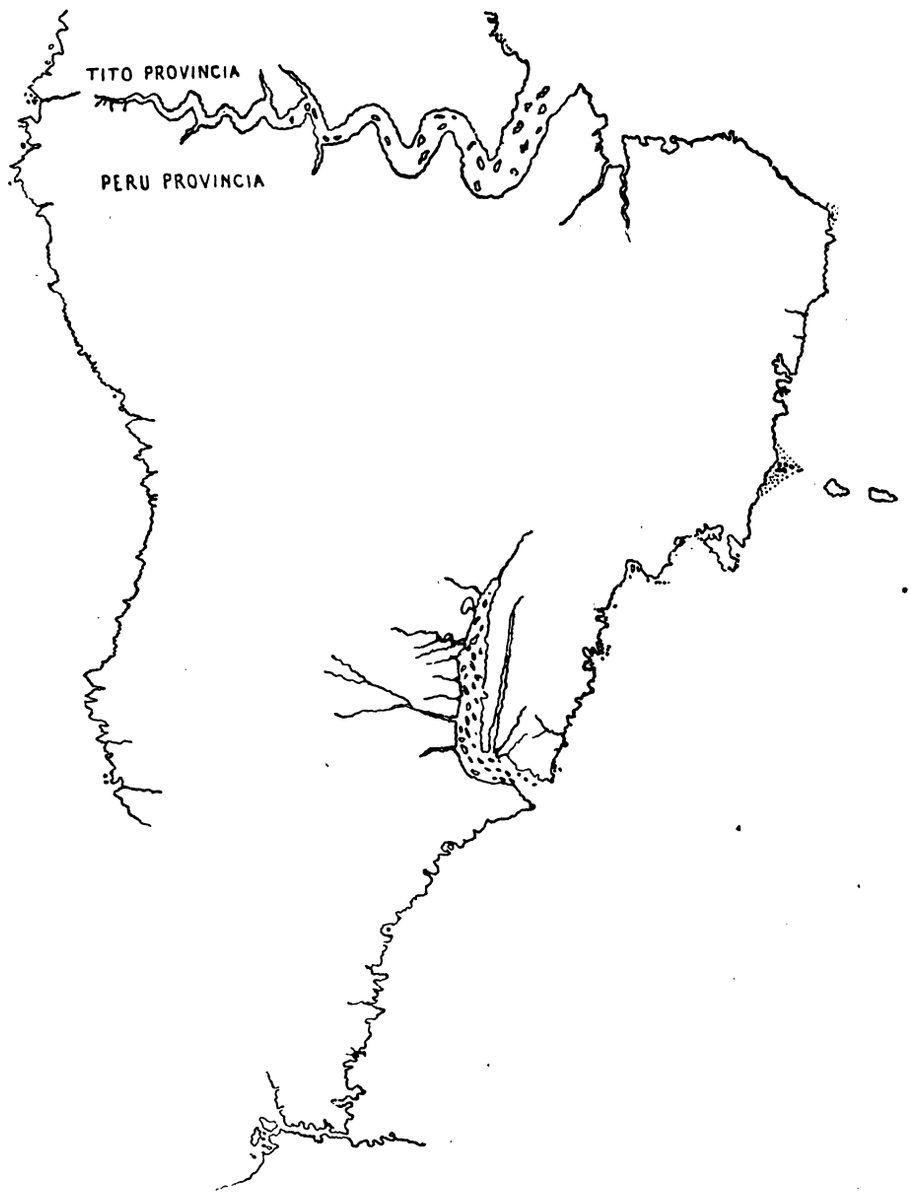

CABOT, 1544.[1]

The distinctively Spanish maps of 1527 and 1529 — respectively assigned, the one formerly to Ferdinand Columbus,[2] though with scant evidence, and the other to the

[1] Sketch of a section of the so-called Sebastian Cabot mappemonde in the National Library at Paris, following a photographic reproduction in Harvard College Library.

[2] Cf. sketch, Vol. II. p. 43. In addition to the reproductions of this map elsewhere named, one can be found in Ernst Mayer's *Die Entwicklung der Seekarten bis zur Gegenwart* (Wien, 1877).

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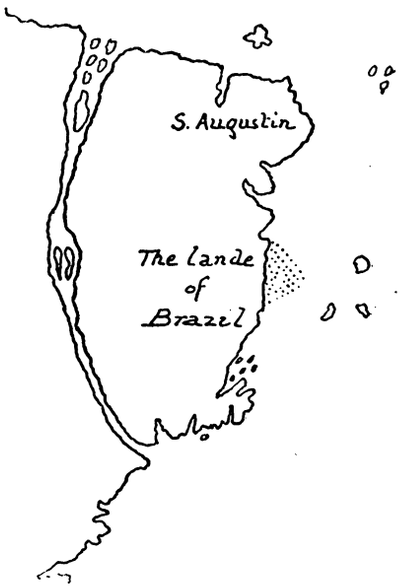
royal hydrographer, Ribero — confine the shores of this supposable continent to what Magellan actually saw. Much the same may be said of the Homem mappemonde of about 1530, preserved in the British Museum; of the atlas at Turin;[1] of another mappemonde of about this time which Peschel has described and drawn in colored fac-simile;[2] of the Agnese map of 1536,[3] the type of so many others, including the Bodleian manuscript of about the same date.

RIBERO, 1529.

In the Finæus map of 1531, and in Schöner's of 1533, the great southern continent takes very definite shape about the Pole.

It was some time after 1535, when the details of the coast of Chili first came to be partially understood in Europe, that this completion of the western coast of South America was drawn in the map with anything like precision; though Münster[4] and Apianus,[5] in 1540, and the Nancy globe,[6] had given it a seemingly definite line. It was drawn with a dotted line in the Homem of 1540 (?);[7] in the portolano (1539) which Charles V. gave to Philip II., the possible work of Agnese;[8] in the Mercator gores of 1541;[9] and with equal uncertainty in the great mappemonde of Sebastian Cabot in 1544. Both the determinate and dotted-line delineations of the west coast are shown in the maps of an atlas in the Riccardi Palace at Florence.[10] The coast is drawn continuous, though without names, in a French mappemonde (1540?), which was acquired by the British Museum in 1790, and which in Kohl's opinion was derived from French sources. The Ulpius globe[11] leaves the coast unbroken, but calls it "terra incognita."



MARTINES, 1578.

Rotz's map in his *Idrography*, preserved

[1] Figured in the *Jahresbericht des Vereins für Erdkunde in Dresden*, 1870, Tab. vii.

[2] In the *Jahresbericht des Vereins für Erdkunde in Leipzig*, 1871.

[3] See Vol. IV. p. 71.

[4] See Vol. IV. p. 41.

[5] Lelewel, pl. 46; repeated in the 1545 edition of Apianus.

[6] See sketch, Vol. II. p. 433.

[7] See Vol. II. p. 456, for a sketch.

[8] See Vol. II. p. 445. The same uncertainty is shown in the Agnese map of 1543 at Gotha, and in those of 1554 preserved in the Biblioteca Marciana at Venice. Cf. *Studi biog. e bibliog.*, etc., ii. 139.

[9] See Vol. II. p. 177.

[10] Shown in the *Jahrbuch des Vereins für Erdkunde in Dresden*, 1870, Tab. vii. and ix.

[11] Fac-simile in Vol. IV. p. 42.

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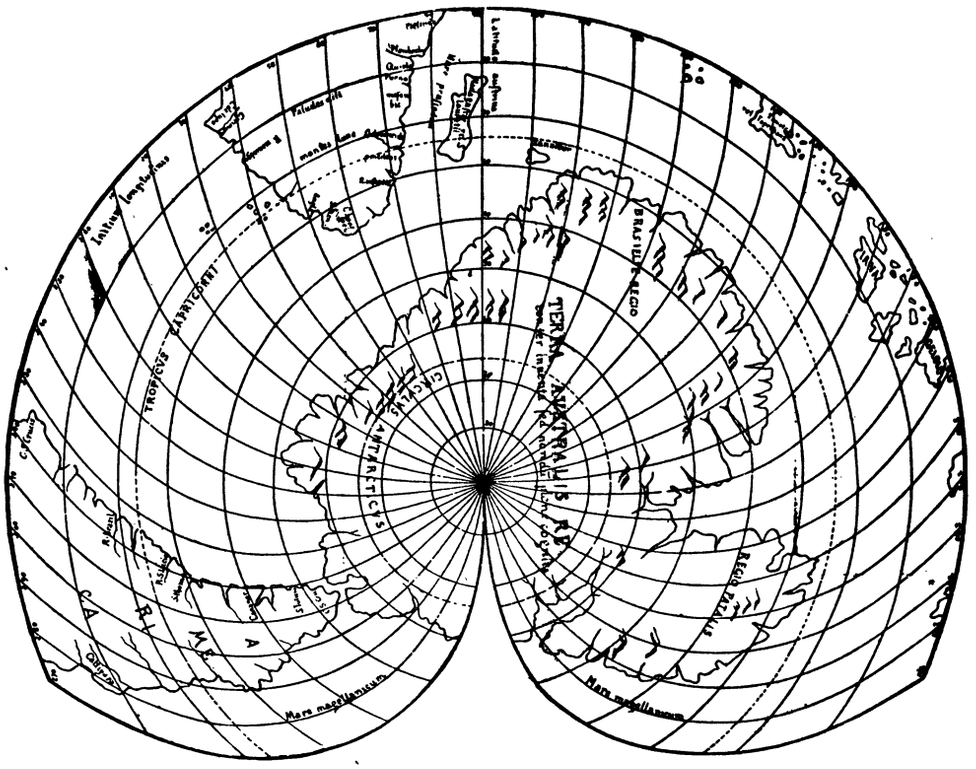

FINÆUS, 1531.[1]

in the British Museum,[2] repeated the new feature in the eastern parts which was shown in the French mappemonde of 1540 (?) in making a large part of Brazil an island, — a feature which was long preserved with some cartographers, and appears more pronounced still in the manuscript atlas of Johannes Martines, 1578, now in the British Museum, and is still differently conceived in the manuscript map of Johannes à Doetechum, made about 1585.

Four years after Cabot's desertion of the La Plata, Pedro de Mendoza led an expedition thither to possess the country, which in part he called Buenos Ayres, from the salubrity of the climate. The enmity of the natives and famine finally drove him away; but he left his lieutenant, Ayolas, who explored the stream and founded the city of Asuncion in 1537. To make good the hold which Ayolas had established, and in the belief that he was dead, — somewhat in advance of the fact, though the natives in due time murdered him and his followers, — Alvar Cabeça de Vaca was despatched from Spain, in 1540, with a following of four hundred men. He divided his force, part attempting to reach Asuncion from the coast overland, and part by following the river. After much hardship and adventure, both parties finally arrived at the settlement within a month of each other. Not much gain to geography came of the subsequent proceedings.

[1] This follows the map given in Wieser's *Magalhães-Strasse*. Wieser thinks (p. 66) that the 1531 map of Finæus is the earliest map to apply the designation "Terra australis" to the supposed Antarctic continent.

[2] Kohl's Collection, no. 424.

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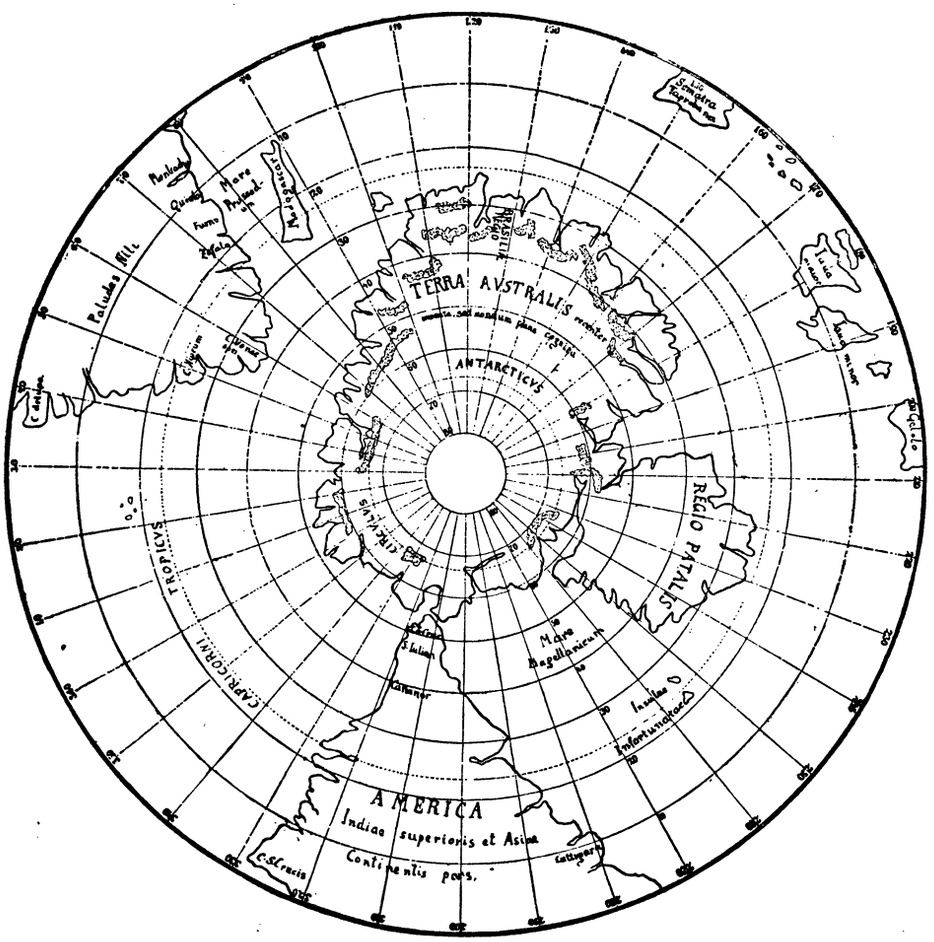

SCHÖNER, 1533.[1]

He fought disease and want, and at last succumbed to a mutiny, which put in command Irala, one of Mendoza's men who had remained, and Cabeça de Vaca found himself a prisoner to his own followers. After a detention of nearly a year he was sent to Spain. Irala proved to be a hero of discovery; he forced an expedition through to Peru, and established a route across the continent. He showed himself also to be an able governor, and made of his people, whose amalgamation with the natives he encouraged, a nation of marked characteristics.[2] He died in 1557; but there was no one to take his place, and Paraguay never again had a governor in all respects his equal.[3]

[1] This follows the map given in Wieser's *Magalhães-Strasse.*

[2] The fifth section of *Cartas de Indias* contains papers relating to the region of the La Plata (1555–1556) during the administration of Martinez de Irala. Cf. also *Coleccion de obras y documentos relativos a la historia antigua y moderna de las provincias del Rio de la Plata. Ilustrados con notas y disertaciones por Pedro de Angelis* (Buenos-Aires, 1836–1837).

[3] We have a plain narrative of these exploits of Mendoza and Cabeça de Vaca in an account

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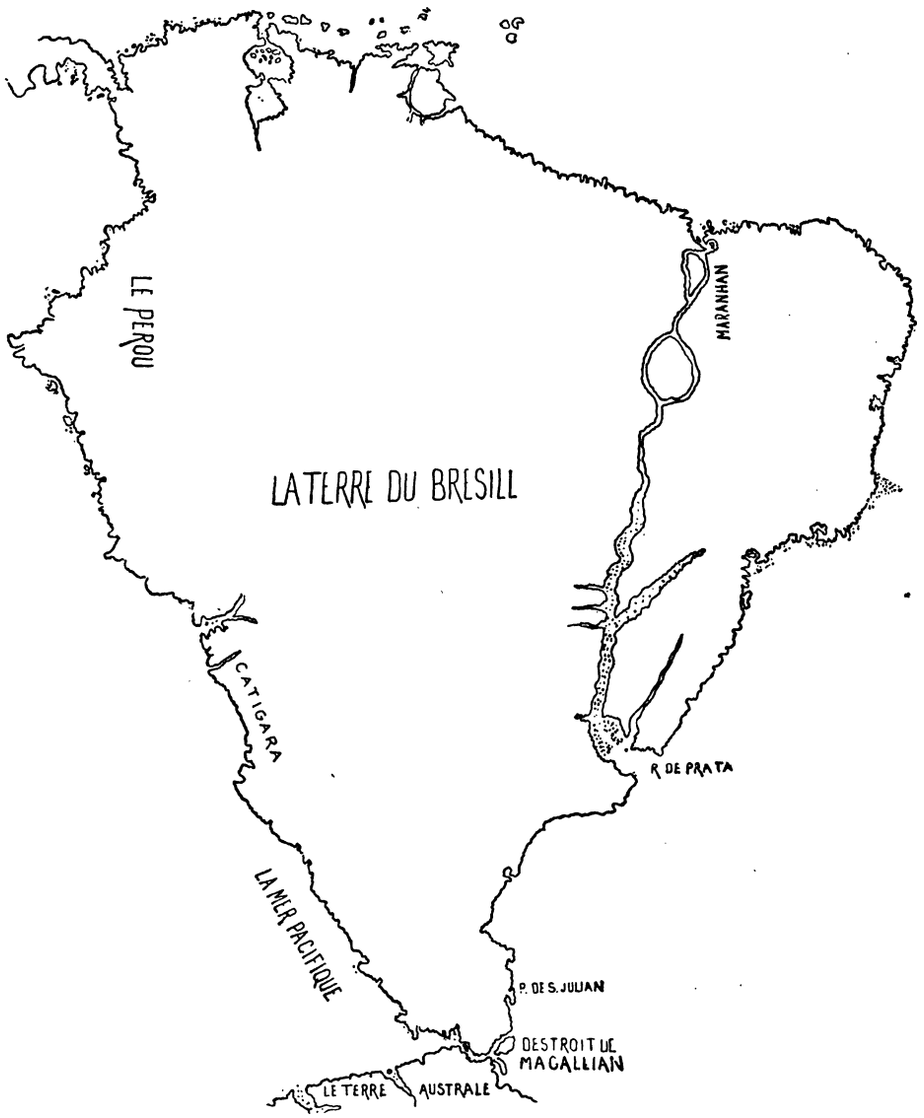

FRENCH MAPPEMONDE, 1540 (?) [1]

Such a base for interior exploration as the Spaniards had thus acquired at the La Plata, the Portuguese had already secured farther north at Bahia. Diego Alvarez, a

by Ulrich Schmidel of his experiences in Brazil and La Plata from 1534 to 1554, which was first published in 1567 at Frankfort as an addition to Sebastian Franck's *Weltbuch*. It is a story of

[1] A sketch after a copy (no. 355) in the Kohl Collection of a French map acquired by the British Museum in 1790, measuring $8\frac{8}{12} \times 2\frac{10}{12}$ feet, and referred to by Malte-Brun in his *Histoire de la géographie*, i. 630. The connection of the Amazon with the La Plata would place it before Orellana had coursed the Amazon in 1543 (Ruge, *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, p. 455).

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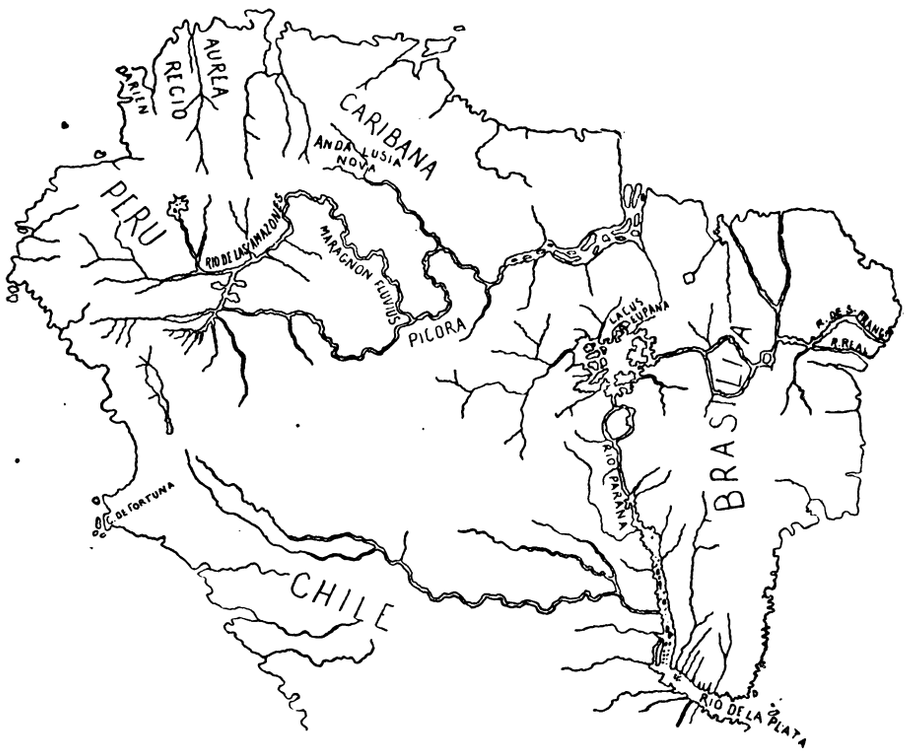

JOANNES À DOETECHUM, 1585.[1]

survivor of a wreck in the neighborhood of this harbor, had, as early as 1510, established useful relations with the natives at Bahia, and being taken off by a French vessel, had endeavored to induce the Portuguese Government to colonize the country; but in vain, and Brazil was neglected until Martim Affonso de Sousa was given (1531) the captaincy of a stretch of coast amounting to about fifty leagues. It was he who discovered, on the 1st of January, the imposing bay, which he supposed the mouth of a river, and named Rio de Janeiro.[2]

continuous massacre and enslavement (Field, *Ind. Bibliog.*, p. 1362). De Bry gave the narrative in German in 1597 and 1617 (part vii.), and in Latin in 1599 and 1625. Hulsius gave a much better and corrected Latin version in 1599 (*Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, p. 383; *Cat. Hist. Brazil*, *Bibl. Nac.*, no. 859). F. S. Ellis (1884, no. 340) priced this edition at £24. Barcia gave it in part in his *Historiadores primitivos* (vol. ii.) in 1749, and Ternaux has included it in French in his *Voyages*, part v.

Further recourse may be had to Gomara, Benzoni, Garcilasso de la Vega, Herrera, Torquemada, Charlevoix, etc. Cf. Funes, *Ensayo de la historia civil del Paraguay* (Buenos Ayres, 1816–1817), in three volumes.

A metrical chronicle, Barco Centenera's *Argentina*, published at Lisbon in 1602, commemorates in part Cabeça De Vaca's expedition (Carter-Brown, ii. 8). Cf. the modern narrative in Washburn's *Paraguay*.

[1] This sketch follows a draft by Kohl in his Washington Collection (no. 362) of a manuscript map in the British Museum marked "Joannes à Doetechum fecit;" but along coasts explored by the Spanish and Portuguese, the names are given in the languages of these discoverers.

[2] Such is the commonly received statement; but there seems good ground for doubting that he was even in the bay on the 1st of January, 1531, and there is evidence of earlier visits by others besides. Cf. Kidder and Fletcher, *Brazil* (1866),

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Other captaincies followed, and their history is largely a succession of petty warfares; until, in 1549, the captaincies were revoked, and a general command of the coast was given to De Sousa, who established himself at Bahia, built a town, and introduced the Jesuits, under Nobrega.[1] Between 1547 and 1555 we have a description of the eastern parts of Brazil, of the first importance in respect to the natives of the country, but of less value in developing the geography of the coast. This is the account which a common German boor gives, in his rough way, of his two voyages and of his captivity among the Indians, — one Hans Stade by name, a native of Hesse, who sailed successively in Portuguese and Spanish vessels as a gunner.[2]

France, impelled by a rivalry of her neighbors, next began a most untoward attempt at founding a colony at Rio de Janeiro. She sent out her expedition in 1555 under the command of Nicholas Durand de Villegagnon, or Villegaignon, who was both wily and false. He gained the ear of the French King by professions of patriotism. He cajoled Admiral Coligny with promises of protection to such Huguenots as might accompany him. The Huguenots trusted him, and joined his company. Along with him went Thevet, a mendacious Franciscan, from whose narrative we must take some part of our knowledge of the expedition.[3] It served Villegagnon's purpose to write back letters, which induced others

p. 50. On the results of the expedition of Martim Affonso de Sousa, see Varnhagen's *Brazil* (1877), sec. viii., and on his immediate successors, sec. ix. The log-book of his brother, Pero Lopez de Sousa, of the same squadron, was published by Varnhagen in 1839, at Lisbon, as *Diario da navigação da armada sob a Capitania-mor de Martim Affonso de Sousa;* see Santarem's *Analyze du journal* in *Nouvelles annales des voyages*, (1840). Cf. *Rev. do Inst. Hist.*, v. 232, 352, vi. 118, xxiv. 3; *Cat. Hist. Brazil, Bibl. Nac. do Rio de Janeiro*, no. 853; *Murphy Catalogue*, nos. 2,343, 2,352. There is a later publication, — *Diario da navegação de Pedro Lopes de Sousa pela costa do Brazil* (1530–1532), 4ª *ed., e Livro da Viagem da nao "Bretoa" ao Cabo Frio (em* 1511), *por Duarte Fernandez* (editor, F. A. de Varnhagen), Rio de Janeiro, 1867.

[1] Cf. publications of Jesuit letters from Brazil, 1551–1558, Venice, noted in Carter-Brown, i. nos. 181, 227, 238; and Simão de Vasconcellos' *Chronica da Companhia de Jesus do estado do Brasil, e do que obraram seus filhos nesta parte do Novo Mundo. 2a ed. Accrescentada com uma introducção e notas historicas e geographicas, pelo conego Dr. Joaquim Caetano Fernandes Pinheiro* (Rio de Janeiro, 1864).

[2] The original edition of Hans Stade is a little unpaged quarto which appeared at Marburg in 1557 as *Warhafftige Historia unnd beschreibung einer landtschafft der Wilden . . . Leuthen in der Newen Welt* (Murphy, no. 2,376; Carter-Brown, i. 220), of which another edition appeared at Frankfort on the Main the same year. It is without date, but its preface is dated 1556 (Carter-Brown, i. 216; Beckford, iii. 2,175–76; Graesse, vi. 476; Rosenthal priced it recently at 60 marks). In 1567 it appeared as the third part of Sebastian Franck's *Weltbuch*, and again in folio at Frankfort (De Bry, vol. iii.) in 1593 and 1631; and at Oldenburg in 1664. It was reprinted at Stuttgart in 1859, under the editorial direction of Dr. Karl Klüpfel.

The earliest translation was a Flemish one at Antwerp in 1558 (Carter-Brown, i. 223). De Bry gave it a Latin dress in his great Collection in 1592; and this appeared later in 1605 and 1630. Dutch editions were printed at Amsterdam in 1630, 1634, 1640, 1686, and in Vander Aa's *Versamling* at Leyden, in 1706 and 1727. Another Dutch edition was published at Amsterdam in 1714. Ternaux gives a French translation (vol. iii. Paris, 1839). The earliest English version is *The Captivity of Hans Stade, of Hesse, in A.D.* 1547–1555, *among the Wild Tribes of Eastern Brazil*, annotated by Richard F. Burton and published by the Hakluyt Society in 1874. Mr. Markham adds a bibliography to this edition. Stade's two voyages covered the intervals, April 29, 1547–Oct. 8, 1548, and from the fourth day after Easter, 1549, to Feb. 20, 1555. Southey seems to have been the first to recognize the value of the rude and honest work of Hans Stade, and he amply analyzes the narrative. Cf. Field, *Ind. Bibliog.*, no. 1,489; *Cat. Hist. Brazil, Bibl. Nac. do R. de Janeiro.* i. 83.

[3] Thevet at the time of his brief sojourn on the coast was fifty-three years old, having been born at Angoulême in 1502. His narrative is contained in his *Singularitez de la France antarctique*, which has been edited by Paul Gaffarel (Paris, 1878), with notes and a biography of its author. The book originally appeared at Paris in 1557, and again at the same place in 1558, and at Antwerp the same year (cf. Vol. III. p. 31; Murphy, nos. 2,481–2,483; Court, nos. 350–351; Cooke, no. 2,429). Gaffarel gives a fac-simile of the title of the Paris, 1558, edition, and expresses the opinion that the wood-cuts of the Paris edition were the work of Jean Cousin, and were reduced by Assuérus van Londerzell for the Antwerp edition of the next year; which,

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of the Reformed party to embark; and among them were two Genevan ministers, attendant on whom was a young man, Jean de Léry, now scarcely twenty-one years old, who was influenced as much by curiosity to see the country as by zeal for the cause.

THE BRAZIL COAST, FROM DE LÉRY.[1]

De Léry has also told his side of the doleful story,[2] for Villegagnon soon threw off his mask, and gave play to the passions of his concealed faith; and his Huguenot settlers

in the eagerness of the public for it, was hurried through the press, — to the detriment of the text. Italian editions followed at Venice, — *Historia dell' India America, detta altramente Francia antarctica*, in 1561 and 1584.

Thevet's character for veracity is not good. The errors which he commits seem sometimes wilful, and have thrown much doubt over his whole story; though with caution it can be used with advantage. Cf. Ferdinand Denis, *Lettre sur l'introduction du tabac en France* (1851).

"Fumée in his *Histoire des Indes*, and Belleforest in his additions to the *Cosmographia* of Münster, have not spared him," says Gaffarel; and De Léry is at pains to controvert him on points at considerable length. Cf. the preface to his second edition.

[1] A fac-simile from a cut in the Geneva (no place) edition, *Historia navigationis in Brasiliam* (1586), p. 207.

[2] The bibliography of De Léry is followed insufficiently in Gaffarel's edition (p. xiii), and better in Sabin (vol. x. no. 40,148, etc.). The original edition, *Histoire d'un voyage faict en la terre du Brésil*, was printed at La Rochelle in 1578, though some copies are without place, and others, seemingly the same, bear the name of Rouen. The little octavo is rare, and has been priced of late by Dufossé at 335 francs, by Maisonneuve (no. 2,835) at 450 francs, and by Porquet (1884, no. 1,366) at 500 francs. (Carter-Brown, i. 325; Court, no. 203. There is a copy in Harvard College Library). The second edition, "reveue, corrigée, et bien augmentée," was printed at Geneva in 1580, though some copies are without place, and the *Court Catalogue* (no. 204) gives a copy with a Rochelle imprint (Carter-Brown, i. 335). It is the text of this edition which has been reproduced lately with the following title: *Histoire d'un voyage faict en la terre du Brésil. Nouvelle édition, avec une introduction et des notes par P. Gaffarel* (Paris, 1880).

A third edition appeared in 1585, with Geneva or Rochelle in the imprint, and some copies without place (Brunet, vol. iii. col. 1,004; Carter-Brown, i. 363; Porquet, no. 1,367, at 120 francs; Rosenthal, in 1884, no. 48, at 80 marks; Court, no. 205. Field, *Ind. Bibliog.*, no. 914, says "Paris"). Other editions appeared at Geneva in 1594 (Carter-Brown, i. 486; F. S. Ellis, London, 1884, no. 164, £7 15*s*.), 1599 (Porquet, no. 1,368, 400 francs), 1600, 1604, 1611, 1642, and at

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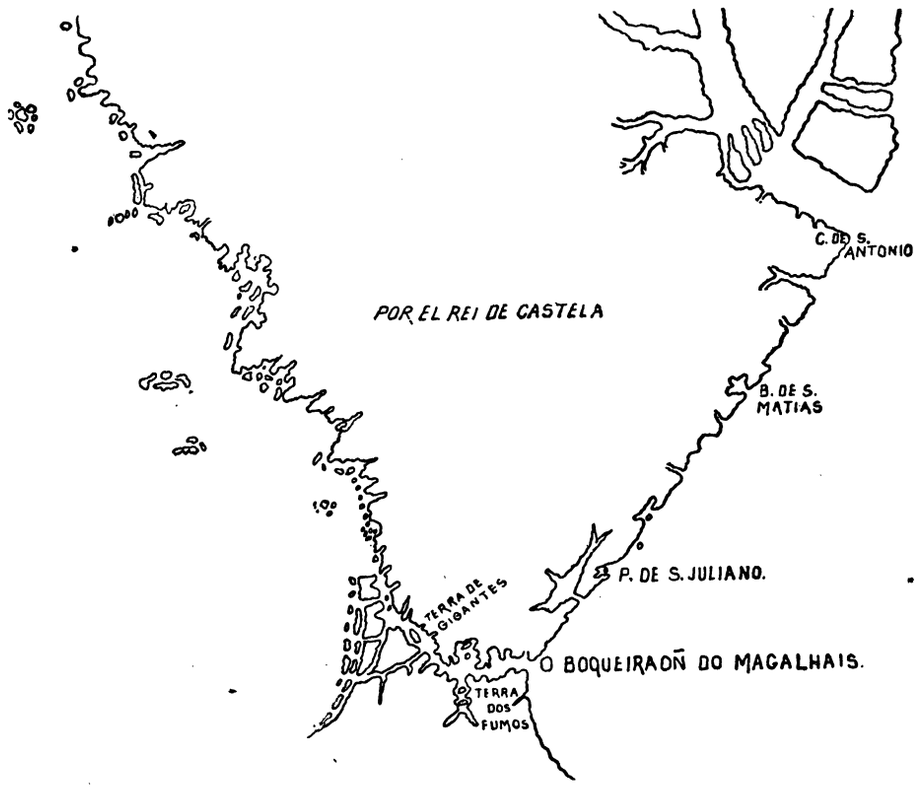

JUAN FREIRE, 1546.[1]

were so badly used that, driven from the fort and placed at the mercy of the savages and the Portuguese, they accepted the risks of a crazy vessel and sailed back to France, while a few of their number were hurled by Villegagnon from a precipice into the sea.

Paris in 1600 (Carter-Brown, ii. 116; Murphy, no. 1,469; *Cat. Hist. Brazil, Bibl. Nac.*, i. 83, 84).

The first Latin edition, *Historia navigationis in Brasiliam*, appeared at Geneva in 1586, with seven full-page illustrations of native customs; and Brunet says it is rarer than the first French edition (Court, no. 206; Carter-Brown, i. 367; F. S. Ellis, 1884, no. 162, £2 2*s*.). It was also issued as the second part of *Historia Indiæ occidentalis, tomis duobus comprehensa*, the work of Benzoni being the first part. This bears the imprint of the same Genevan publisher, Vignon (Carter-Brown, i. 365). It was reissued with slight changes in 1594 (Carter-Brown, i. 487; F. S. Ellis, 1884, no. 163, £2 2*s*.). Brunet gives a Latin edition at Heidelberg in 1576, but I find no other trace of it. De Bry issued in his *Great Voyages* (part iii. 1592, and 1630, p. 137), with plates, what is rather a paraphrase than a translation, and it is moreover scant in the parts about Villegagnon.

There was a Dutch edition at Amsterdam in 1597, which is called the scarcest of all the editions. Muller reports having seen only two copies. Another Dutch version appeared in Vander Aa's Collection, 1727. A German edition, with notes, was printed at Münster in 1794. The only English version is what Purchas gives of it in his fourth volume, p. 1325.

Gaffarel in his edition (vol. i. p. 186) gives in his notes various references on De Léry's career.

[1] This is sketched from the copy, in Kohl's Washington Collection (no. 394), of Freire's manuscript map, which was in Viscount Santarem's possession. The source of the La Plata

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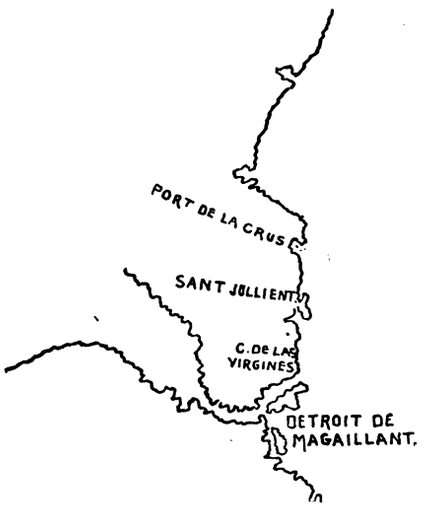
Villegagnon then deserted his companions and returned to France;[1] while the Portuguese, after a year or two, attacked and destroyed the post in 1560. Beyond some narratives of the events, this futile attempt at colonization left no trace, and added little, beyond the chance descriptions of Thevet, De Léry, and others, to the knowledge which Europe was garnering of the New World in this direction.

The French again occupied the post, but only till 1567; when on St. Sebastian's Day, January 20, the fort was again attacked, and the Portuguese ever after maintained the foothold which their forces had won.[2]



NICOLAS VALLARD, 1547.[4]

Gomara says that the voyage of Camargo, in 1540, first gave to Europe something approaching a tolerably accurate knowledge of the west coast of Patagonia and Chili. Münster does not seem to have profited by this in the "Typus universalis," which appeared in the Ptolemy of 1545, and was re-engraved in that of 1552 and in the *Cosmographia* of Münster in 1554;[3] but Juan Freire in his manuscript map (1546) evidently drew from Camargo for this part, as he drew from Pigafetta for the east coast.

The draft of Patagonia and the Straits of Magellan in the Nicolas Vallard atlas of 1547, now in the Sir Thomas Phillipps Collection, indicates rather dependence upon Portuguese reports than upon Spanish; and the Portuguese nomenclature of the coast is hardly disguised by the French transformations which it has undergone.[5] The small Spanish map which Medina was allowed to insert in his *Arte de navegar*, in 1545, was cut off below the La Plata; but the same cut was

— not shown here — is in a lake, supposed to be the Lake of Xarayes, discovered by Cabeça de Vaca before 1546.

[1] Villegagnon published a reply to the charges against him, — *Response aux libelles publiez contre le Chevalier de Villegaignon, au lecteur Chrestien* (Paris), 1561. F. S. Ellis priced a copy (1884, no. 302) at £5 5*s*.

[2] Parkman tells the story of this French failure in a summarized way, but graphically, in his *Pioneers of France*, chap. ii; and Gaffarel rehearses it at considerable length in his *Brésil Français* (p. 139, etc.), with ample references.

The ungodly tilting of the two religious factions in the colony is well shown in the *Histoire des choses mémorables advenues au la terre du Brésil*, published [at Geneva] in 1561 (Carter-Brown, i. 237), and *Nouvelles annales des voyages*, vol. xl. Cf. also Nicolas Barré's *Copie de quelques lettres sur la navigation du Chevalier de Villegaignon*, Paris, 1557. (Ternaux-Compans, i. 102; cf. De Bry, iii. 285, 295, for a Latin version. The French was again reprinted in Gaffarel's *Brésil Français*, p. 373, etc.)

There are passing mentions of the events in Lescarbot, *Nouvelle France* (1612), p. 146, and Popellinière, *Les trois mondes*, iii. 2. On Villegagnon himself cf. Bayle's *Dictionnaire;* Guérin, *Navigateurs Français*, p. 162, and his *Marins illustres*, p. 231; Gosselin, *Marine Normande* (*documents*), p. 147; Faillon, *Colonie Française*, i. 534; *Nouvelles annales des voyages* (1854), iv. 188; Crespin, *Histoire des martyrs*; C. W. Baird's *Huguenot Emigration to America* (N. Y. 1885).

[3] In the first engraving South America is called "America seu insula Brasilii;" and in the newly engraved one "Ameria [sic] vel Brasilii insula."

[4] The inscription on this atlas, "Dieu pour Espoir. Nicolas Vallard de Dieppe, 1547," renders it uncertain if Vallard was the owner or maker; but Kohl says (no. 447) that the inscriptions in the body of the map are in the same hand. The tropic of Capricorn is marked; but the degrees of longitude, though traced, are not numbered. The bay of Rio de Janeiro is drawn, but not named.

[5] A similar dependence on Portuguese originals characterized a French map of an outline very like the Vallard map. It belonged to Jomard when Kohl made the drawing of it which is in the Washington Collection (no. 358).

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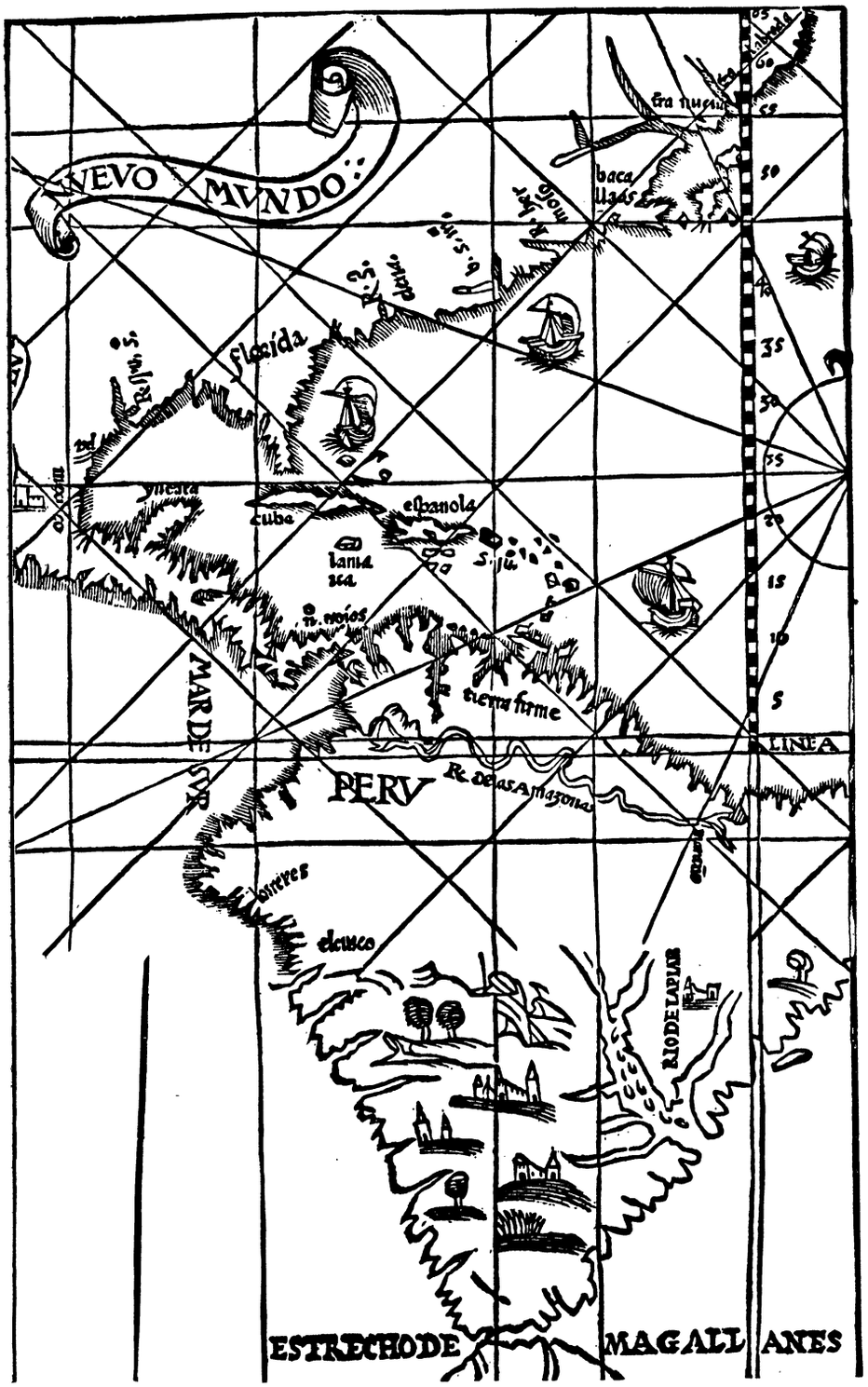

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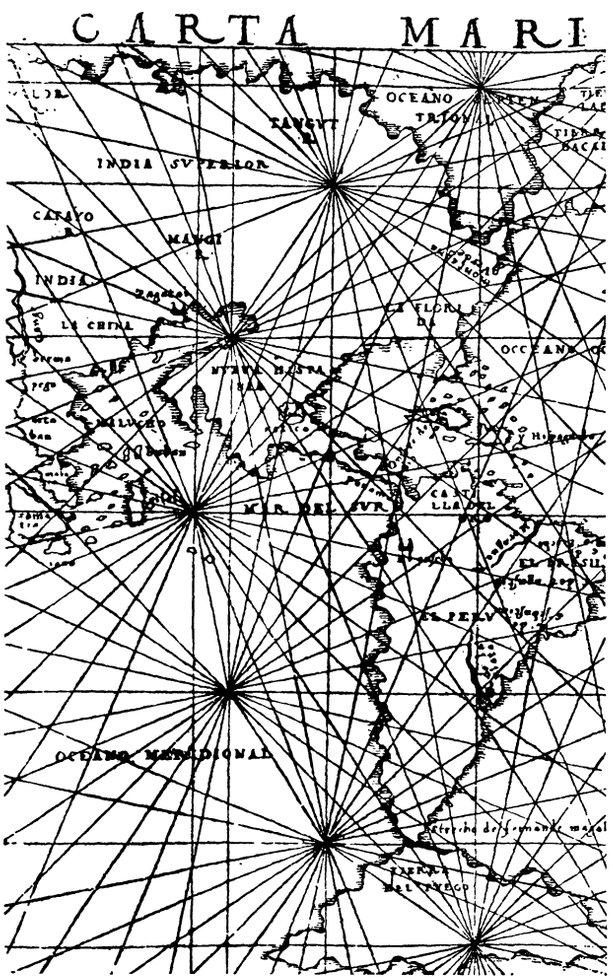
patched out rudely down to the Straits of Magellan, but not beyond, when it appeared in the edition of 1549, as shown in the annexed fac-simile.



CARTA MARINA, PTOLEMY, 1548.

The Ptolemy of 1548 gave a greater prolongation of South America toward the south than earlier maps had shown. The maps of this edition were the work of Gastaldi,[1] who made a diamond-shaped island of Tierra del Fuego, — a novelty at the time.

Europe at this period got its ideas of the great South American continent largely from two maps. One of these was the Bellero map, which first appeared at Antwerp in 1554;[2] the other was the map which appeared in Ramusio's Collection in 1556, and was repeated in 1565.[3]

We first get the general easterly course of the Amazon after Orellana's explorations in 1541, though Homem in 1558 interpreted his accounts with an amusing serpentine regularity, while he left the lower western coast of the continent as undefined as it had been drawn many years before.

[1] Cf. no. 59 and no. 60, called "Carta marina," and used again in the Ptolemy of 1561.

[2] It came out in Gomara's *Mexico* and his *Historia general de las Indias*, both in 1554; in Darinel de Tirel's poem, *La sphère des deux mondes*, in 1555; sometimes in Eden's *Decades*, in 1555; in Cieça de Leon's *Peru*, in 1556; and in Levinus Apollonius' *De Peruviæ*, in 1565–1567. Cf. *Mapoteca Colombina*, p. 2; Huth, ii. 605; Stevens, *Bibliotheca geographica*, no. 1,987; O'Callaghan, no. 613; Rich (1832), no. 30; Carter-Brown, vol. i. nos. 201, 217; Muller (1877), no. 893.

[3] See Vol. II. p. 228. Another fac-simile of Ramusio's map of Brazil is given in Paul Gaffarel's *Brésil Français*, p. 61. On a portolano preserved in the Department of the Marine at Paris, and ascribed to Guillaume le Testu, see Gaffarel, *Brésil Français*, p. 122; Berthelot, in *Journal de l'instruction publique;* F Denis, *Une fête Brésilienne à Rouen, in* 1550, p. 32. This atlas was made in 1555, and was dedicated to Coligny. Le Testu was killed in an action with Drake in 1572 near Nombre de Dios. Gaffarel also (p. 115) speaks of the explorations on the coast by Jean Alfonsce at an earlier day.

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BELLERO, 1554.

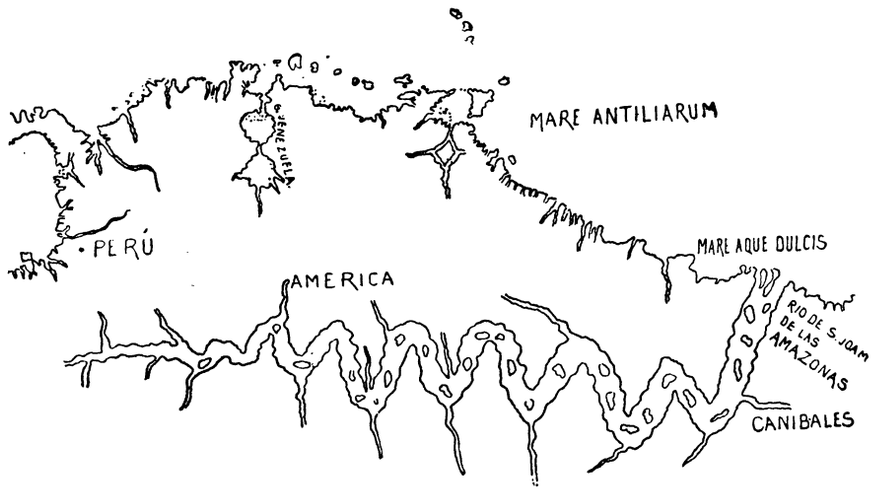
The huge Antarctic land connecting Tierra del Fuego with the supposable Australia came back to us again in the Martines map, shown on another page,[1] which is probably to

[1] See Vol. II. p. 450.

be dated between 1550 and 1560. This last date we may give to a Spanish portolano, preserved in the Bodleian Library, which shows all the South American coast except the northwesterly parts.[1]

Ruscelli, in the Ptolemy of 1561, gives in one of his maps a dotted line to the Chili coast, and leaves indefinite the southern limits of Tierra del Fuego; but in his "Tierra nova" the outline of South America is completed.

A map made by Diego Gutierrez, and engraved by Hieronymus Cock in 1562, represents the Amazon much as it is shown by Homem, and introduces an erroneous river



THE AMAZON (*Homem*), 1558.[2]

system (Rio Marannon) south of the Amazon, which prevailed for a considerable time in the maps.

Passing over the map of Des Liens of Dieppe (1566), preserved in the National Library at Paris, as presenting nothing distinctive, we come to the very indicative great Mercator map of 1569, which introduced a remarkably protuberant outline of the southwestern coast of South America. This feature stood as a type with the map-makers for a long time,[3] though it was not copied in the Spanish mappemonde of 1573, as figured in Lelewel,[4] nor in the Gilbert map of 1576.[5] The Mercator type, however, found a successful propagandist in Ortelius, who issued (1570) his great atlas the next year after Mercator, and repeated the same outline of South America in 1575 and 1584. Similar maps, dated 1574, are in the *Enchiridion* of Philippus Gallæus. The double protuberant angles of the west coast which characterize the Mercator-Ortelius type give place to a single projecting angle in the *Descrittione di tutto il Peru* of Paulo di Forlani da Verona, — which is without date, but is placed by Kohl about 1570, — in the Porcacchi maps of 1572 and 1576, and in the manuscript Martines map of 1578 in the British Museum. The extended southern polar continent, to

[1] There is a drawing of it in the Kohl Collection (no. 356).

[2] This follows Kohl's drawing (no. 429) from an atlas of Homem, preserved in the British Museum, which shows the explorations of Orellana. The same atlas contains a map of the coast of Brazil, with two main forks to the La Plata. It gives with some precision the Bay of Rio de Janeiro. The nomenclature differs from Freire's map. It is no. 428 in Kohl's Collection.

[3] This map is sketched in Vol. II. p. 452.

[4] Vol. i. pl. 7.

[5] See Vol. III. p. 203.

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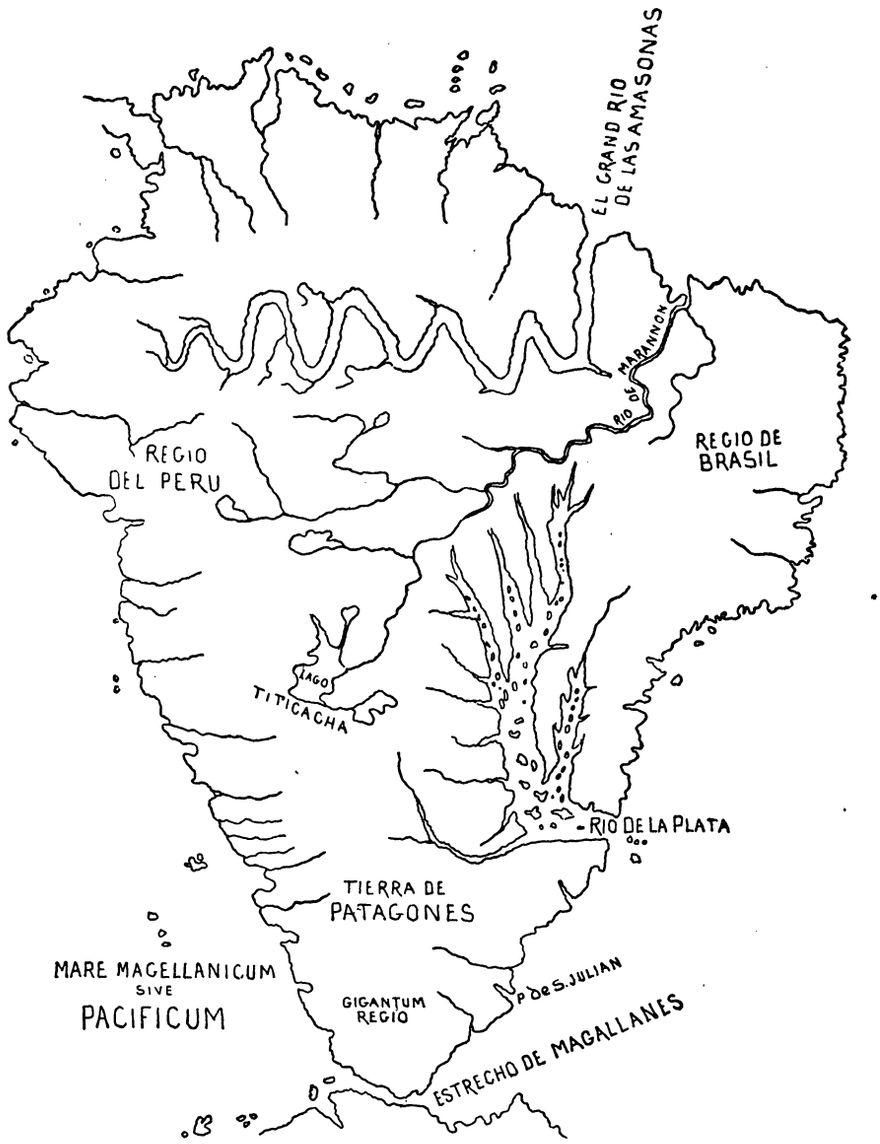

GUTIERREZ, 1562.[1]

which Mercator and Ortelius had lent the sanction of their important testimony, was emphasized again in 1583 in the *Trois mondes* of Popellinière, who, besides the old and the new, found his third world in this same Antarctic expanse of land. It is again found prominent in a map of the manuscript atlas dated 1587,[2] preserved in the British Museum, and in the map of the same date in Johannes Myritius' *Opusculum geographicum*, published at Ingolstadt in 1590. In the map, however, which Hakluyt added to his Paris edition of Peter

[1] Follows Kohl's no. 359.

[2] Kohl's Collection, no. 396.

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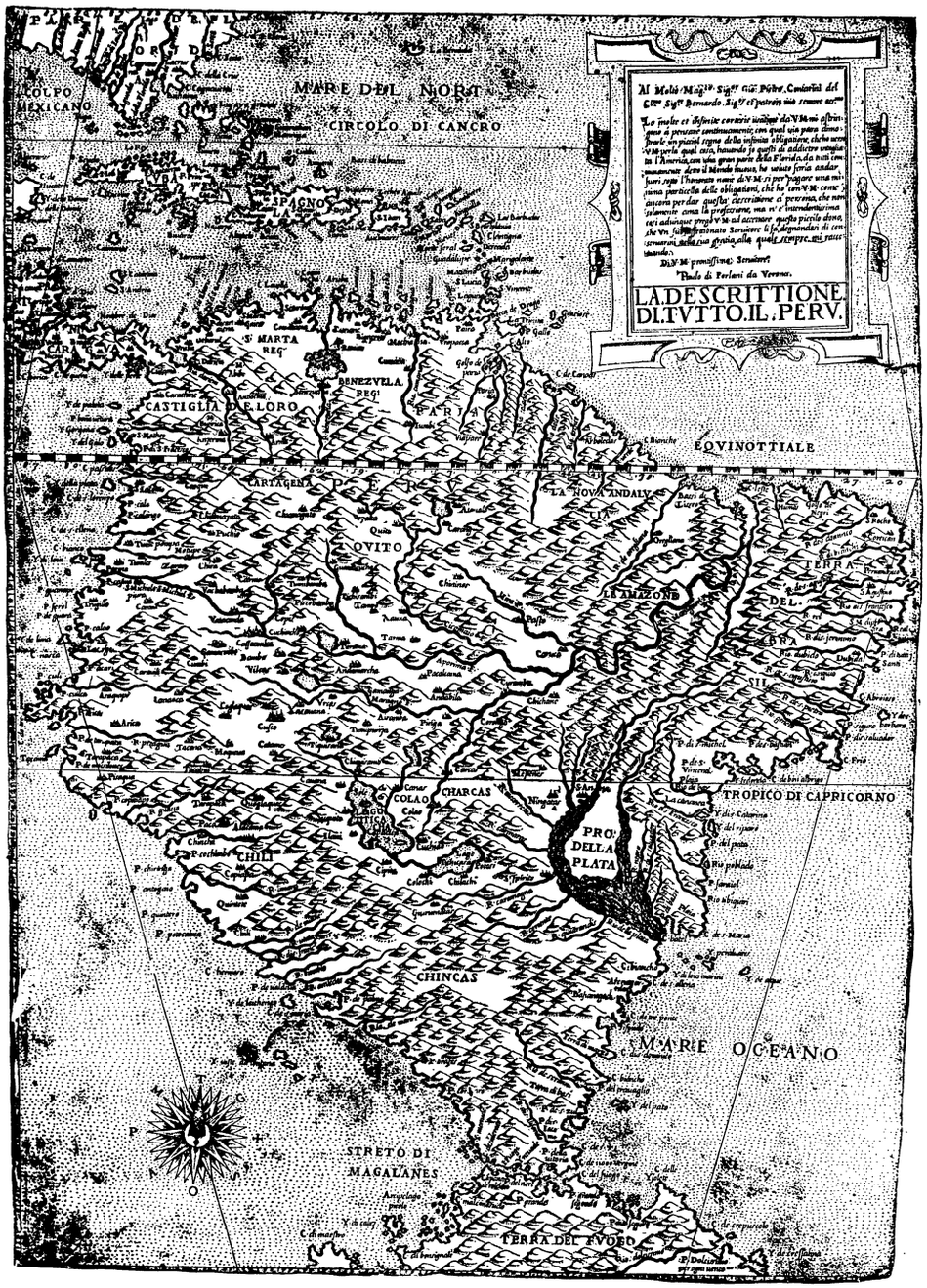

FORLANI (*about* 1570).[1]

[1] After a copy in Harvard College Library. It is Kohl's no. 360.

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DU NOORT'S FLEET AT ROTTERDAM, 1598.

From Olivier du Noort's *Description du penible Voyage, . . . pour traversant le destroict de Magellanes, descouvrir les Costes de Cica, Chili & Peru* (Amsterdam, 1602).

BRAZIL, 1598.

A part of the map in Wolfe's English edition of Linschoten.

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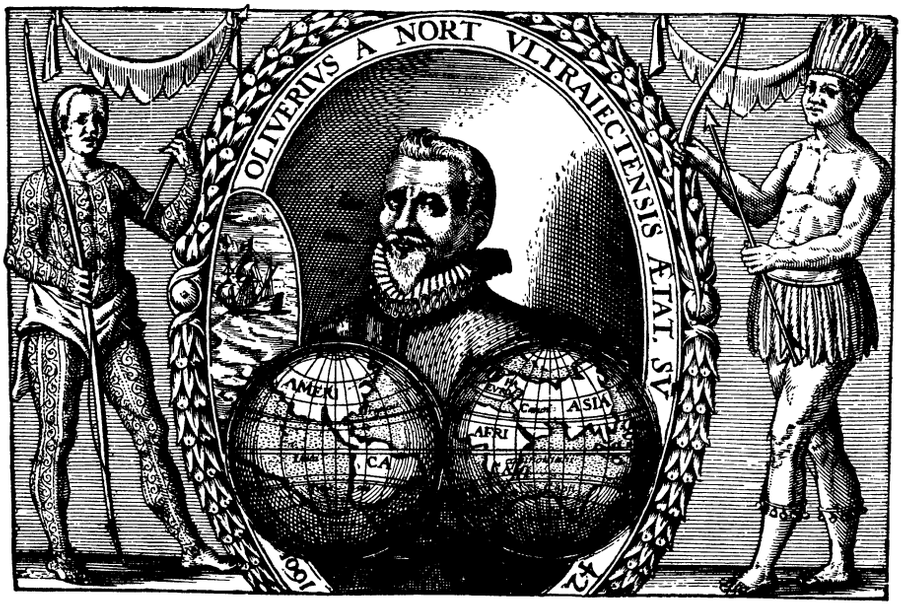
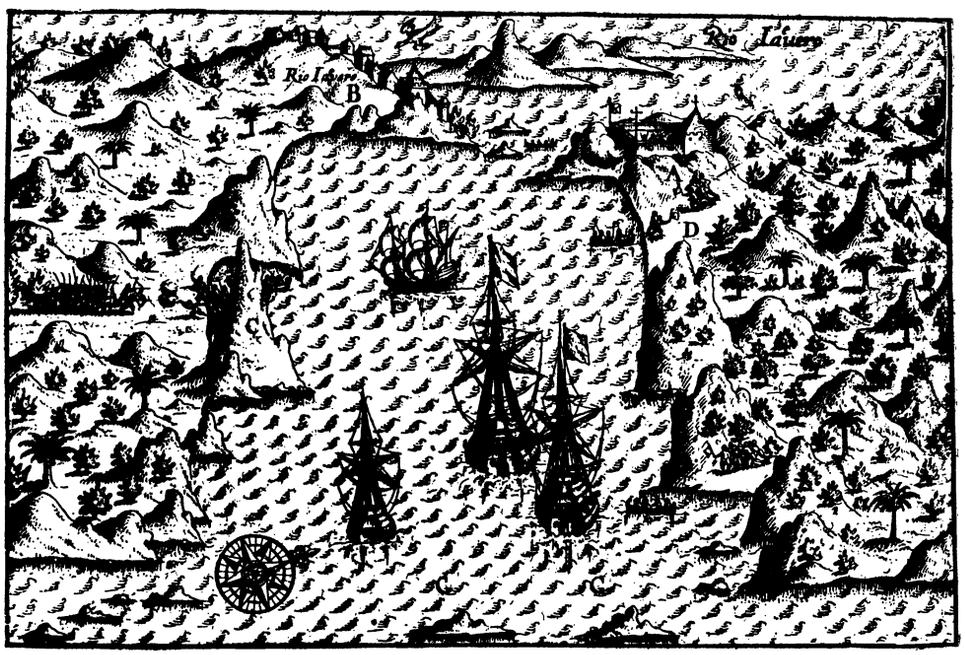


From the title of *Additamentum nonæ partis Americæ* of De Bry (Frankfort, 1602).



RIO DE JANEIRO, 1599.

From Olivier du Noort's *Description du penible Voyage* (Amsterdam, 1602).

KEY. — G, Anchorage of ships. A, Portuguese fort. B, The town of Rio de Janeiro. C, Sugar-loaf mountain. D, Place where prisoners were exchanged.

Cf. De Bry's *Additamentum nonæ partis* (1602) and Gottfriedt's *Newe Welt* (1655), p. 390.

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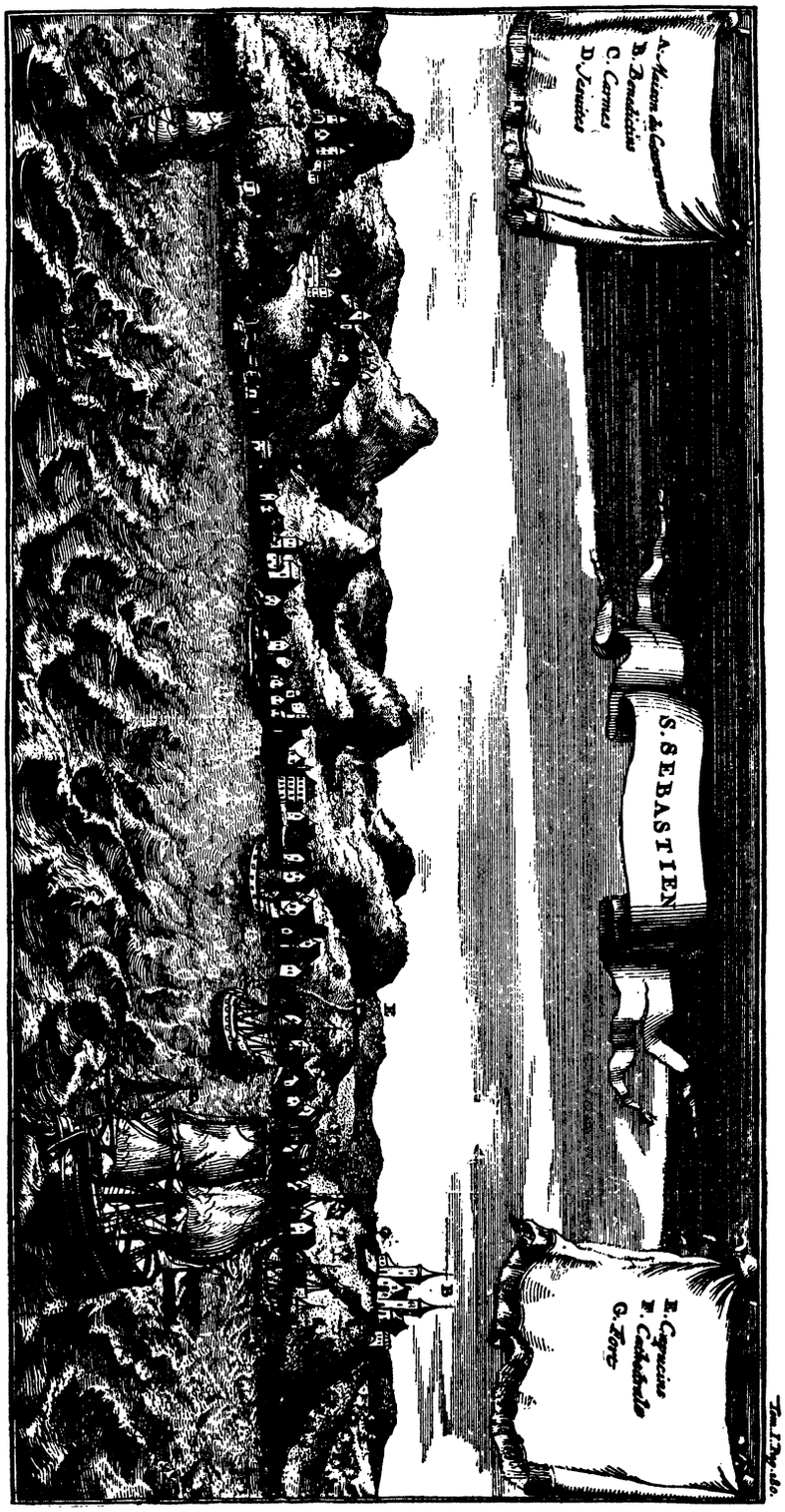

SÃO SEBASTIÃO DO RIO DE JANEIRO.
From Coreal's *Voyages* (Amsterdam, 1722), vol. i.

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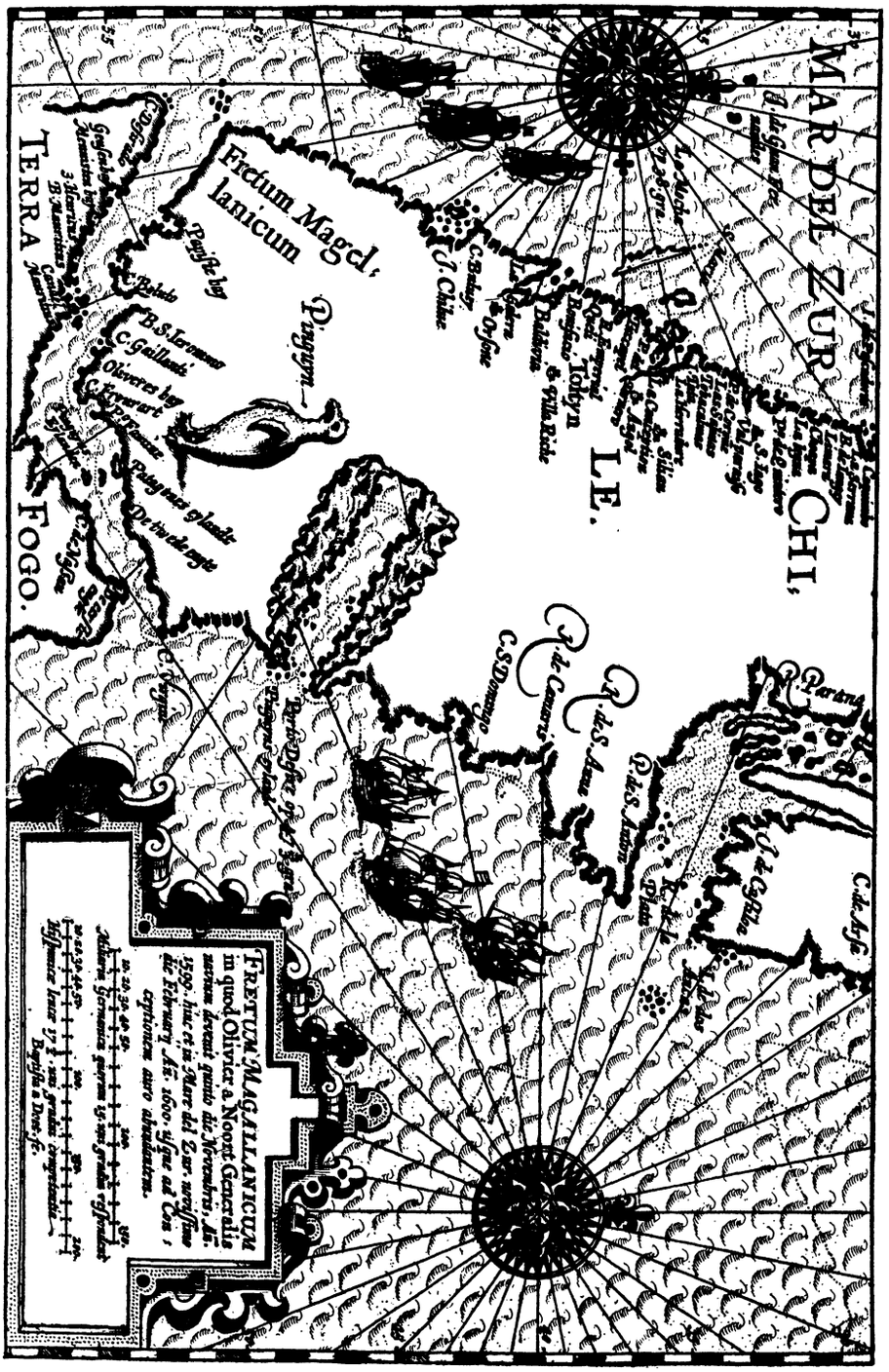
Haitimunc
Hispaniola
Antillas
PERV
OMAGNA
PAGVANA
Moxos prouin
Charcas
Cusco
Popaiana
Castilia del Oro
Nueva Granada
Amazones
Rio de las Ines
Rio Paraguay
Rio Paraguay seu Maranon fluuius
Rio de la Plata
Rio Grande
Rio Negro
Rio Boriquen
Rio de Nombre de Dios
Rio de Magdalena
Rio de Cauca
Rio de Xauxa
Rio de Cuchos
Rio de Moxos
Rio de Manzos
Rio de Chuquiabo
Rio de Tucuman
Rio de Cordoua
Rio de Chile
Rio de Arequipa
Rio de Tarapaca
Rio de Atacama
Rio de Copiapo
Rio de Coquimbo
Rio de Valparayso
Rio de Baldiuia
Rio de Arauco
Rio de Valdiuia
Rio de Imperial
Rio de Valdiuia
Rio de Baldiuia
Rio de Valparayso
Rio de Coquimbo
Rio de Copiapo
Rio de Atacama
Rio de Arequipa
Rio de Tarapaca
Rio de Chuquiabo
Rio de Tucuman
Rio de Cordoua
Rio de Chile



PATAGONIA, 1599.

From Olivier du Noort's *Description du penible Voyage* (Amsterdam, 1602). A view of the harbor of Porto Desire is given in the same book, p. 12.

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From Wolfe's Linschoten, 1598.

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Martyr[1] the same year (1587), we find Tierra del Fuego broken up, unprecedentedly, into a number of islands, though its maker could not as yet have got Cavendish's reports of his passage of the Straits in 1586–1588.

Other maps of the Ortelius type, like those of Maffeius and Judæus,[2] both of 1593, those of De Bry in 1592 and 1596, those in the Ptolemy of 1597, variations upon the same contour, the Wytfliet map of the same year,[3] that in the Basle edition of Münster's *Cosmographia* (1598), the mappemonde of Wolfe's Linschoten (1598) and that in Botero's *Relaciones* (1603), indicate how stable the view had become at this time of the greatly broadened shape of South America and of the wide circumpolar continent to the south.

In 1598–1599 a fleet of five Rotterdam ships, the first Dutch vessels to enter the waters of Magellan's Straits, sailed under the direction of Mahn and Cordes. Sebald van Weert, one of the commanders, did not pass out of the Straits on the Pacific side, but remained a long time in them; and Kohl thinks that Van Weert brought home the drafts which made the map of the Straits published by Hondius in 1600,[4]— the amplest survey of those waters up to that time.[5] Another of the commanders, Olivier van Noort, passed into the Pacific in 1599.[6] His map, showing his track, was not published till 1646,[7] in an abridged edition of his narrative, at Amsterdam. It gives an exaggerated elongation to Porto Desire, on the east coast, under 47° 66′. Only a portion of "Terra Fogo" is shown. The west coast is much better drawn, and seems to be based on Spanish authorities. Levinus Hulsius published at Nuremberg in 1599 a *Nova et exacta delineatio Americæ partis australis*, to accompany the *Vera historia admirandæ cuiusdam nauigationis* (1534–1554), of Huldericus Schmidel. Hulsius also compiled (1602) a map of the southern parts of South America to illustrate these voyages.[8] At the beginning of the next century the distorted South America of the Ortelius type begins to disappear; and we find better proportions in the map of 1601 in Herrera,[9] in that of 1606 in the *Regimiento de navegacion* of Cespedes, in that connected with De Quir's narrative in the *Detectionis freti*, etc., 1613, and in the maps of Hondius which illustrated *Die seer heerlücke Voyagie der Capiteyn Draeck*,[10] and which appeared in the Mercator atlas of 1613.[11] The map of Joannes Oliva of 1613 in the British Museum still preserves the newer type. The map of Spilbergen (1615), as shown in De

[1] See Vol. III. p. 42.

[2] This is Kohl's no. 365.

[3] See Vol. II. p. 459, with those of Metellus (1600) based on them.

[4] This is Kohl's no. 398.

[5] Van Weert's narrative was published at Amsterdam in 1600 as *Wijdtloopigh Verhael*, etc., with a description of the Straits by Outgheraz, which was not repeated in later editions. This first edition is extremely rare. Cf. Tiele, nos. 11[a], 11[b]; Muller (1872), no. 1,976, (1877) no. 2,402; Carter-Brown, p. 466. De Bry in his part ix. (1602) abridged and inexactly translated the account, and inserted a map which seems to be based on the same material as Hondius used; and he repeated the map in part xiii. (Carter-Brown, ii. 346, 349, 352). An abridged edition of the narrative, *Begin ende Voortgangh*, etc., with Outgeresz' description, was issued at Amsterdam in 1646. Cf. Muller (1872), no. 1,977, (1877) no. 3,472. There were other issues in 1648 and 1650, and this narrative is given in English in the *Voyages by the Dutch East India Company* (London, 1703).

[6] His *Voyagie* was printed at Amsterdam in 1601, and again in 1602 with some changes in spelling. The original edition is of great rarity (Muller, 1877, no. 2,309, etc.; Tiele, no. 11). It was given in Latin by De Bry in his ninth part, but abridged; it is also in Hulsius, xi. De Bry's German appeared in 1602, and another German translation (Lenox Library) the same year; the first and second French editions in 1602, and again in 1610 (Tiele, nos. 17, 18, 19; Carter-Brown, ii. 107). Later abridged editions appeared at Amsterdam in 1646, 1648, 1650, 1663, 1764, etc., and at Utrecht in 1708 (Tiele, nos. 21, 23, 25, 29, 33 Stevens, *Historical Collection*, i. 493).

[7] Kohl's no. 399.

[8] Kohl points out his omission of the island of Juan Fernandez, discovered in 1570, and of the bay where Diego Galleyo perished (*circa* 1570). The map shows a Spaniard and a Patagonian giant in "Chica regio." It is Kohl's no. 401.

[9] Repeated in the edition of 1622 and in the early editions of Torquemada.

[10] Fac-simile in the Hakluyt Society's edition of Drake's *World Encompassed*. Hondius' map of the Straits is given in Purchas, iii. 900, and his map of South America, iii. 882.

[11] A map by Michael Mercator in the same edition restored the Ortelius type.

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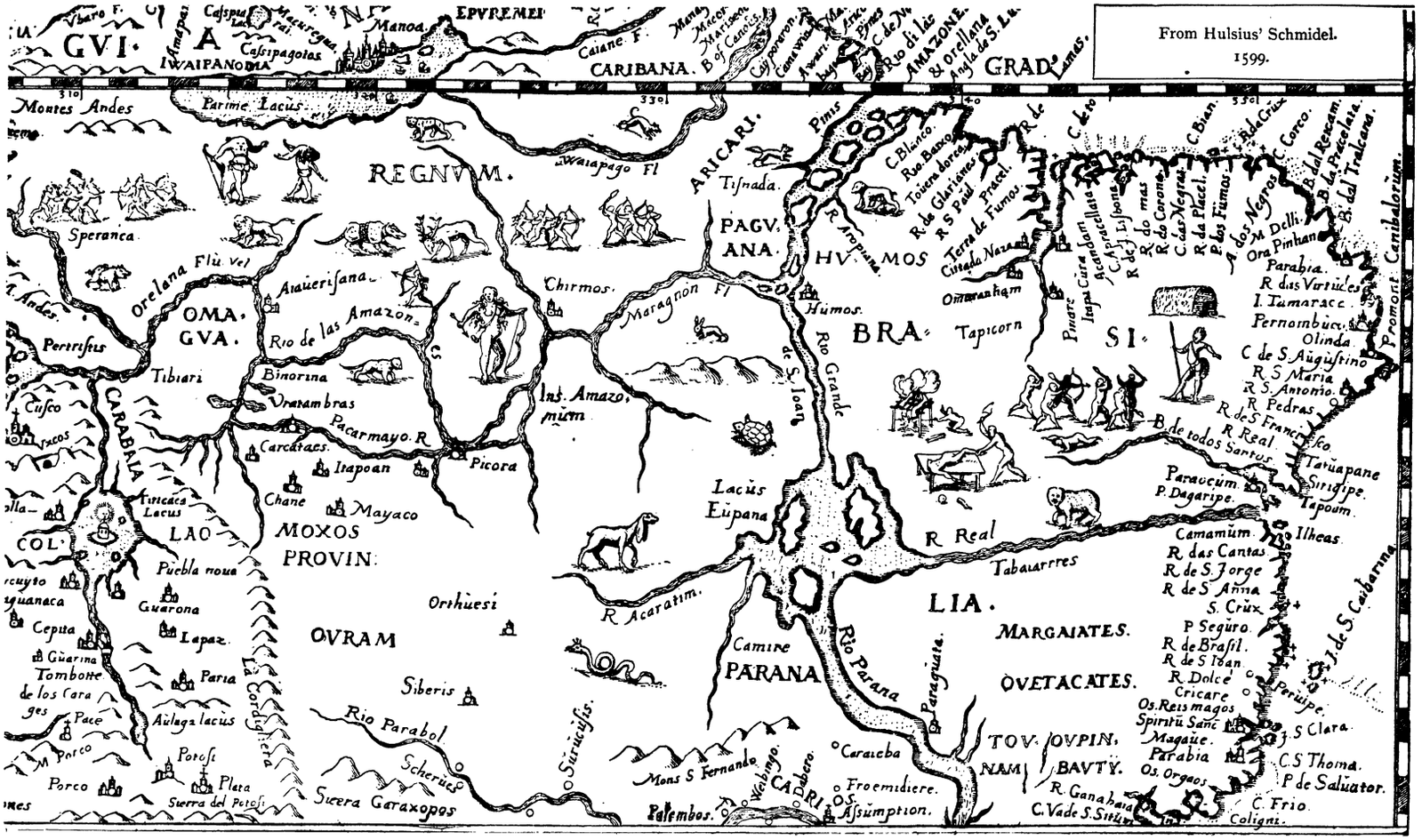
From Hulsius' Schmidel.
1599.
GVI·
A
IWAIPANOMA
Manoa
EPVREMEI
CARIBANA.
GRAD
Montes Andes
Parime Lacus
REGNVM.
Waiapago Fl
ARICARI.
Tisnada.
PAGV.
ANA.
HV MOS
Humos.
Chirmos.
Maragnon Fl
Speranca
Orelana Flu vel
OMA.
GVA.
Rio de las Amazon.
Ins. Amazonum
Rio Grande de S. Ioan
BRA.
SI.
Tapicorn
Perrisius
Tibiari
Binorina
Cusco
CARABAIA
Pacarmayo R.
Carcatacs.
Itapoan
Picora
Chane
Mayaco
MOXOS
PROVIN:
Lacus Eupana
R Acaratim.
R Real
Tabaarres
LIA.
MARGAIATES.
OVETACATES.
Camire
PARANA
Rio Parana
Paraguaia.
Orthuesi
OVRAM
Siberis
Rio Parabol
Scherues
Sierra Garaxopos
Mons S Fernando
Walbingo
CARIBI
Caraieba
Froemidiere.
O.S. Assumption.
Palembos.
TOV. OVPIN. NAM
BAVTY.
R. Ganahara
C. Vade S. Sitium
Paracuum.
P. Dagaripe.
Camamum.
R. das Cantas
R. de S. Jorge
R. de S. Anna
S. Crux
P Seguro.
R. de Brasil.
R. de S Ioan
R. Dolce
Cricare
Os. Reis magos
Spiritu Sanc
Magaue.
Parabia
Os. Orgaos
Ilheas.
Tatuapane
Siripipe.
Tapoum.
Periupe.
S Clara.
C. S Thoma.
P de Saluator.
C. Frio.
Coligni.
Promont. Canibalorum.
B. del Traicano.
B. de todos Santos.
R. Real
R. de S Francisco.
Olinda
C de S. Augustino
R. S Maria
R. S. Antonio.
R. Pedras
Parabia.
R das Vaticues
I. Tamaracc.
Pernombuc.
Ora Pinhan
A dos Negros
C. Corco.
Rio Grande
C. Blanco
Rio Barro
Terra de Fumos
Citade Nazaret
Ommanham
Pinare
Iapu Cara
Acaracellare
C. Blanco
R. de Gloriantes
R. S Paul
R. Arapiuna
Pimis
C. de Nort
Rio di las AMAZONE.
& Orellana
Angla de S. Lu
C. Blanco
C. Corco
C. das Negras
R. da Placel
P. dos Fumos
R. do mas
R. do Corone
C. Blanco
Rio Grande
B. del Reseam.
B. da Praceleu.
Caribana
Caiane F.
Caspipagotas
Caspipagotas
Mamo
Macor
Marisco
Cassiporon
Camawara
Anwari
Buyne
Bimes
Ytabaro F.
Iwapari
Caspipagotas
Macurrygua
Rel.
Montes Andes
Perrisius
Cusco
Pacos
Lacus
Titicaca
Lacus
LAO
COL·
Puebla noua
Guarona
Lapaz
Ceputa
Guarina
Tombotte
de los Cara
ges
Pace
Paria
Aulaga lacus
Porco
Porosi
Plata
Sierra del Potosi
La Cordiliera
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FRONTISPIECE OF HULSIUS' SCHMIDEL.[1]

Bry, part xi., is not a great improvement, in respect to the Straits themselves, over the chart of Van Weert.[2]

There was a further development in the Schouten-Lemaire voyage of 1615–1617, when the new passage between Tierra del Fuego and Staten Land was discovered, and Cape Horn was first rounded from the east by Willem Cornelisz Schouten van Hoorn.[3] In referring

[1] This is taken from the Harvard College copy of the *Vera historia admirandæ cuiusdam nauigationis, quam Huldericus Schmidel, ab anno* 1534 *usque ad annum* 1554 *in Americam vel nouum mundum, iuxta Brasiliam et Rio della Plata confecit* (Noribergæ, 1599).

[2] Cf. Spilbergen's *Speculum*, 1619 (priced by F. S. Ellis in 1884, no. 276, at £18 18*s*.), and the editions in Hulsius, 1648, etc.; Carter-Brown, ii. 195. The map is Kohl's no. 402.

[3] His original *Journael ofte Beschrvvinghe* appeared at Amsterdam in 1618 in several editions,

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SCHOUTEN'S TRACK.[1]

to the other contemporary authority for this voyage, Muller says that "all honor due to the skilful and learned young Lemaire is turned in Schouten's Journal to his own profit; and in this and many other circumstances Lemaire's account of this voyage differs

and also at Arnheim. Cf. Tiele, *Mémoire bibliographique sur les journaux des navigateurs Neerlandais*, nos. 34, 45; Muller (1877), no. 2,916; Stevens, *Historical Collection*, vol. i. no. 780; Carter-Brown, ii. 208, with fac-simile of title and of portrait of Schouten; Murphy, no. 2,234. There were other Dutch editions at Amsterdam in 1632, 1644, 1645, 1658, 1661, 1663 [1664], 1688, and as a chap-book in 1766; at Rotterdam in 1637; at Tot Hoorn in 1648 (with three different imprints, and additions to the text from the journals of Lemaire and Aris Claesz, — F. S. Ellis prices one at £6 6*s.* in 1884, no. 267), and at Dockum, 1649. Cf. Tiele, nos. 33, 48, 50, 51, 52; Muller (1872), nos. 1,955, 1,959–1,960, 1,962–1963; (1877), nos. 2,920–2,923; Carter-Brown, ii. 398, 447, 554, 655, 660, 675, 841, 896, 934, 952; Stevens, *Historical Collections*, vol. i. no. 785, 786, 788. It was also included in Saeghman's *Verscheyde Journalen*, etc., in 1663. French editions appeared at Amsterdam and Paris in 1618, both of which are rare and are worth from 100 to 200 francs, though F. S. Ellis prices a copy in fine binding (1884, no. 265) at £24. Both were repeated the next year, 1619. Cf. Tiele, nos. 37, 42; Muller, 1872, no. 1,956, and 1877, no. 2,917; Stevens, no. 783; Carter-Brown, ii. 209, 226, 227, 229; Maisonneuve, no. 2,952; Sunderland, vol. v. no. 11,202.

In 1619 a German text appeared in De Bry, part xi., and in Hulsius, part xvi. Latin texts were issued at Amsterdam in 1619, by Willem Jannsen and Van der Keere, independently, and in De Bry. Cf. Tiele, nos. 43, 44; Muller, 1872, nos. 1,957, 1,958, and 1877, nos. 2,918, 2,919; Carter-Brown, ii. 225, 230, 910; Stevens, no. 782; Sunderland, vol. v. no. 11,203. F. S. Ellis, 1884, no. 266, prices a Jannsen copy at £21.) A very rare Spanish text was published at Madrid in 1619 (Rich, 1832, no. 149, — £6 6*s.*), and an English edition, *Relation of a Wonderfull Voiage*, was printed at London the same year (Carter-Brown, ii. 231). Thus the book went through ten editions in eight months, and thirty-five or forty different issues are chronicled in Holland during the seventeenth century. It is also included in such English collections as Purchas, Dalrymple, etc.

[1] A fac-simile of the map in the title of the English edition of Schouten's voyage, *The Relation of a Wonderfull Voyage made by William Cornelison Schouten* (London, 1619). Cf. Carter-Brown, ii. 97. Kohl, in his *Magellan's-Strasse*, gives the map from the Amsterdam, 1619, edition. This last is Kohl's no. 403 in his Collection.

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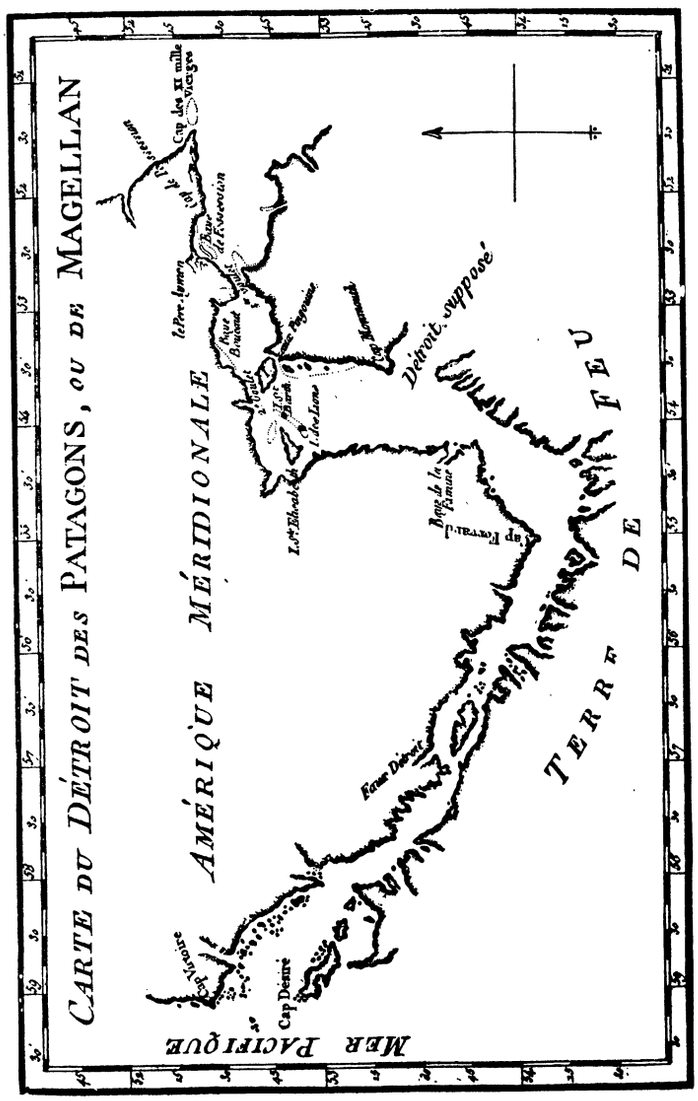
considerably." Lemaire's narrative, *Ephemerides sive descriptio navigationis australis institutæ Ao.* 1615, first appeared as the second part of the Latin edition of Herrera's *Novus orbis* at Amsterdam in 1622, and in French and German the same year. The book is commonly called the "Collection de Michel Colin."[1] The maps are De Bry's; and we now find the Tierra del Fuego taking its comparatively diminutive form at the apex of the continent, though the old plates with the exaggerated Antarctic continent went slowly out of use.[2]



BOUGAINVILLE (1766).

[1] Cf. Tiele, pp. 56, 59, 312; Camus, pp. 147, 160; Muller (1877), no. 1,840; Leclerc, nos. 280–281; Sabin, no. 31,540. Cf. also the edition of Spilbergen's *Speculum*, no. 1,619 (Carter-Brown, ii. 232).

[2] Cf. the maps in the Amsterdam edition of Linschoten (1644), and that of Kaerius (1646) in Speed's *Prospect* (London, 1665).

Various maps of this period, showing South America as well as North, are given in Vol. II.

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While Schouten's narrative was keeping the printers busy, another expedition under the brothers Nodal set sail (1618–1619). The narrative of the cruise, *Relacion del viage*, etc., appeared at Madrid in 1621.[1] The map, which on account of its rarity is supposed to have been suppressed by the Spanish Government, was made by Pedro Teixeira Falhernas, the royal cosmographer.[2] Nodal had with him some Dutch sailors and pilots who had been with Schouten, and rounded Cape Horn and returned to Spain through Magellan's Straits. His drafts of Tierra del Fuego are superior to Schouten's, and he put Cape Horn a degree nearer its correct latitude. The strait at the southeast of Tierra del Fuego, called after Lemaire before, Nodal now called St. Vincent, — a name which was retained for some time on the Spanish maps. The west coast of Patagonia is only roughly drawn. The eastern coast is one of the correctest up to this time; and he gives the proper easterly extension of the southern limb of the continent, which none of the other map-makers had recognized.

There was now little to mend in the general contour of South America on the best maps of the rest of the seventeenth century, though much error in detail still prevailed. The maps of De Laet (1630), of the Mercator atlas (1635), of Jannson's *Atlas Minor* (1651), and of Heylin in his *Cosmographie* (1663), are good examples of the better cartography. The tendency had been to place Cape Horn short of its proper latitude; but Jannson, in 1666, put it a degree too far south. In 1669 Sir John Narborough was despatched by Charles II. to survey the Patagonian waters. He applied many English names, displacing the earlier Spanish and Dutch ones, and used largely antecedent Dutch charts. The map he made is in the British Museum, and a printed copy was published, much reduced by Thornton. There is no present occasion to trace the cartography of the South American continent beyond this point.

[1] Sabin, vol. xiii. nos. 55,394–55,395; Leclerc, nos. 1,980–1,982; Carter-Brown, ii. 250; Nodal was reprinted at Cadiz in 1769. This edition is so rare that Rich priced it in 1832 at £10 10*s*. (*Catalogue*, no. 158). The map is Kohl's no. 404.

[2] It is sketched in Kohl's *Magellan's-Strasse*, where are also a sketch from a manuscript map (1640) by the Jesuits of Chili, in the National Library at Paris, and the map to *Brouwer's Reise*, 1706.

NOTE. — This essay was plated in July, 1885. Since then a posthumous work of Henry Stevens has appeared: *Johann Schöner. A reproduction of the globe of 1523 long lost; his dedicatory letter and the "De Moluccis" of Maximilianus Transylvanus, with a new translation and notes on the globe. Edited with an introd. and bibliography by C. H. Coote* (London, 1888). The preface says that this hitherto unknown series of gores (globe) passed from Henry Stevens' hands to C. H. Kalbfleisch, of New York, in the autumn of 1885. It is held to be of importance in respect to the track of Magellan. The volume is accompanied by the following fac-similes, in addition to the gores of 1523. The Lenox globe; the Boulanger globe (Tross gores); the Schöner globes of 1515 and 1520, and the Cantino map. These have all been reproduced, or the American parts of them, in earlier volumes of the present work. The Lenox globe was taken (Vol. III., 212) from the cut used by Mr. Coote in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, acknowledgment being made to that and to the original Stevens source. (Vol. III., 214.)

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APPENDIX.

By the Editor.

THE MANUSCRIPT SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

I. THE FEDERAL ARCHIVES.

BOTH Sparks and Bancroft inspected to a considerable degree the archives of the general government and of the original thirteen States, and examined some of the more important collections of papers amassed by prominent actors of the Revolution, and to some extent of later periods. When they began this work, something had already been done by the general government in printing certain parts of its archives; but not much had been done by any State; and scarcely any of the private papers of the participants in the Revolution had been printed in any systematic way. Previous to the time when these historians set about their studies, and Peter Force began to amass his collections,[1] now between sixty and seventy years ago, there had been no one, if we except Gordon and Ramsay, who had at all pushed their researches so as to include any considerable examination of the government archives. After both of these early writers had done their work, there was in 1800 a fire in the War Department, which destroyed some portion of the papers in its keeping; and in 1814, at the capture of the city by the British, there was similar destruction, more or less severe at the War, Navy, and Treasury offices,[2] and the Treasury again suffered in 1833. The Department of State escaped such perils, and it has been the depository of the principal government records, ever since the first Congress, by an act approved Sept. 15, 1789, made it finally responsible for the safe custody of "the acts, records, and seal of the United States."[3] The same act left it to the discretion of the President to send such papers as might be determined on to the War and Treasury Departments, which accounts for rosters and accounts of the Revolution being in those departments.

A report of the council of the American Antiquarian Society, made in October, 1882, by the Hon. George F. Hoar, senator of the United States from Massachusetts, and printed in their *Proceedings* (new series, vol. ii. p. 118, etc.), gives an "account of the material for historical study now accessible in Washington," in which he enumerates the records of the prize appeal cases (from 1777 down) as a part of the archives of the Supreme Court, which are of themselves complete from 1790 down; and the records of the postal system after its organization by Franklin in 1775, — as among the papers of the Post-Office Department. I learn from Mr. Paul Leicester Ford that a part of the Post Office papers (1775–1789) are among the papers of the Continental Congress in the Department of State. None of the papers in the Post-Office Department cover Franklin's term; the earliest being the ledger kept by Richard Bache, which in 1865 was printed in fac-simile as Franklin's ledger.

In the Indian Bureau there are materials relating to the history of the tribes before the Revolution, collected by Jedidiah Morse.

It is, however, in the library of Congress and at the Department of State that the greatest wealth of Revolutionary papers is found. In the library of Congress are over sixty bound folio volumes of military papers of the generals of the Revolutionary War; the papers of Rochambeau; thirty-two orderly books, including Washington's at Valley Forge; the Paul Jones papers, in twelve volumes (1776–1778); Georgia state papers (1775–1780); documents of New Hampshire; of Delaware (1680–1794); journal of General Bourne (1771); letter-books of General Nathanael Greene (1781, 1782), in two volumes; journal of the Baltimore Committee of Safety (1774–1776); record-books of Ephraim Blaine, commissary-general of the Revolutionary army, 1777–

[1] These are now in the library of Congress, and include a large collection of maps.

[2] Reports regarding this loss through invasion are by P. Magruder, clerk of the House (*13th Cong., 3d sess., Sept. 22, 1814, House Doc.*); by W. Jones, on the loss at the Navy Department (*State Papers, Naval Affairs*, i. 320); on the loss of the Executive Department (*House Doc., Nov. 17, 1814*); a report on Magruder's neglect (*House Doc., Dec. 12, 1814*), and his reply (*Dec. 19*); Joseph Pearson's report on the destruction of the library (*House Doc. Jan. 16, 1815*).

[3] *Statutes at Large*, i. 29, 69.

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1782; beside various journals, original or copies, of expeditions (1755–1794), — making the whole number of original pieces, relating variously to the Revolution, over five thousand. The papers in the Library of Congress lack much of the official character attaching to those in the Department of State.

The papers of the Department of State, accrued from its current business, consist in the main of the following classes: Laws, treaties, proclamations of the President, diplomatic and consular correspondence, national boundary maps, reports of surveys for boundary lines, claims of citizens against foreign governments, pardons by the President, records of commissioners appointed by the President.

The condition of the records of the Navy Department is described elsewhere by Professor Soley.[1] Theodore Roosevelt, in his *Naval War of 1812*, says that he took the official reports on the British side from published works like the *Naval Chronicle;* but those on the American side were found in the archives of the Navy Department, divided into letters, log-books (exasperatingly incomplete at crises, he says), contracts-muster-rolls, etc. The letters make several volumes for each year from captains, master-commandants, and other officers. He thinks the fire of 1837 destroyed many papers.

The former neglectful methods regarding the official papers of the Navy Department is illustrated in the papers accumulated by Benjamin W. Crowninshield, Madison's Secretary of the Navy, which now exist in the hands of his descendants. They contain the letters and reports of captains and fleet commanders of a character properly attaching them to the archives of the department.[2]

Mention has already been made of the archives of the War Department.[3] There are in the Pension Bureau of the Interior Department papers relating to the participancy of the States in the Revolutionary War, which apparently have at some time been turned over to that Bureau from the War Department.

The Land Office and the Office of Indian Affairs contain many papers necessary in the study of the settlement and development of the United States.

The papers belonging to the Department of State have come to it for two reasons: first, as being the natural inheritor of the papers of the antecedent governments and administrations; and, second, as the fitting repository for such accessions as the nation has acquired from private hands, in the main by purchase. Of these two classes some account will now be given.

From the committee and department of foreign affairs of the Continental Congress came the diplomatic correspondence, conducted at first by a committee of Congress; but after August 10, 1781, by R. R. Livingston, the first Secretary of Foreign Affairs. It embraces not only the correspondence with the American agents in Europe, — to be supplemented from the papers of Franklin, Arthur Lee, John Adams, Silas Deane, and John Jay, — but the correspondence of the government held with Gérard (1778–79) and with Luzerne (1778–83). Copies of a good deal of this correspondence, made by Sparks, who latterly intended writing a history of the diplomacy of the Revolution,[4] are in the *Sparks MSS.* in Harvard College Library.[5]

Under an act of Congress in 1818, Sparks was employed to edit a selection from these diplomatic papers, and the work, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Revolution*, appeared in twelve volumes, at Boston, in 1829–30.[6]

Indications of serious omissions and changes made by Sparks in his edition are contained in the Report of the Committee on Printing, Feb. 6, 1888 (*Senate Doc.*, no. 194), recommending a reprinting of the Correspondence. This report points out that Sparks omitted all letters or portions of letters tending to show the movements of French politicians in 1776 to supersede Washington by Marshal Broglie; the movements by American politicians in 1776–77 to induce Washington's withdrawal, and to have Franklin recalled from Paris; and others necessary to make plain the atrocities of British troops and of refugees in the United States, when brought forward by the American diplomatists as a claim against Great Britain and a set-off against British claims for indemnity to loyalists; and that Sparks further dropped important passages respecting the fisheries, and such other passages as showed the extent of the views prevailing among the negotiators of the treaty of 1782 that the treaty was one of partition, not of concession on Great Britain's part, which view

[1] *Ante*, Vol. VII. p. 414.

[2] I have examined them by the courtesy of Mr. B. W. Crowninshield, of Boston. Cf *Mass Hist. Soc. Proc.*, *Nov.*, 1888.

[3] *Ante*, Vol. VII. p. 413.

[4] *Sparks MSS.*, no. li.

[5] That with Chas. W. F. Dumas, the government agent in Holland (1778–1783), is in no. lxxiv. (cf. *ante*, VII. p. 68); that of Gérard in no. lxxiv.; that of Luzerne in no. xc.; that of Oliver Pollock, a merchant at New Orleans who kept the government informed of events there, in no. xli. Cf. H. E. Hayden's *Pollock Genealogy. A biographical sketch of Oliver Pollock, of Carlisle, Pa., United States commercial agent at New Orleans and Havana, 1776–1784; with genealogical notes of his descendants. Also, genealogical sketches of other Pollock families settled in Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1883).

[6] B. P. Poore's *Descrip. Catal.*, nos. 3, 698, 746; Allibone, ii. 2191. Mr. C. F. Adams (*John Adams's Works*, vii. p. 4) says of the *Dipl. Corresp. of the Rev.*, that it is "a valuable work, but unfortunately disfigured by numerous typographical errors, especially in proper names, and wanting in a thorough index." The letters in foreign languages are translated into English. He also (*John Adams's Works*, vii. p. 190) points out how inadequately this is done in some instances. Sparks has not escaped criticism for exceeding the ordinary limits of annotation in editing such works, and expressing party views upon mooted questions. John Jay's *Address on the Peace Negotiations of 1782–83* (1884), p. 43.

Congress voted, 1830, $31,300 to carry out Sparks's contract with Henry Clay, Secretary of State, to print the series 1778–1783; and, 1832, $12,000 for the series 1783–1789, with additional series in 1833, 1834. The legislation will be found in *Statutes at Large*, iv. 382, 513, 620, 669, 689, 743; v. 170, 171.

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served to strengthen the previous territorial rights of the colonies. Further than this, the report says that Sparks omitted, and gave no signs of omitting, whatever in his judgment was unnecessary or impolitic to print; and that he changed what did not satisfy his taste in style, sometimes to the detriment of the sense. The Report then goes on to cite numerous instances in support of its allegations.

The report was probably written or arranged by Dr. Francis Wharton, then an officer of the State Department, who was finally, by a joint resolution of Congress, approved Aug. 13, 1888, entrusted with the editorship of a new collection of the diplomatic correspondence, in which the papers used by Sparks should be given "in their integrity," and others obtained from abroad and from private hands should be added to double the extent of the publication, — the whole to be annotated with historical and legal notes. Dr. Wharton had got well on in the preparation of copy, and some part had been put into type, when he died. It is understood that the work will be carried to completion under other supervision.

Further, among the papers transmitted from the Continental Congress are its domestic correspondence, the memorials and petitions presented to it, the reports of its committees, the original motions made in its sessions, and its journals. These last daily records are almost wholly in the handwriting of Charles Thompson,[1] the Secretary of Congress through all its years.[2]

[1] He had begun his observations on passing events at the time of the Stamp Act Congress, and wrote a record of its doings, which Wm. B. Reed, in a discourse before the N. Y. Hist. Soc., Dec. 19, 1839 (p. 35), says was in his possession. It is printed in the *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Fund Publ.*, 1878. The papers of the Continental Congress passed from Thompson's hands into those of Roger Alden, for safekeeping, by order of Washington, July 24, 1789 (Sparks's *Washington*, x. 16. Cf. *Corresp. of the Rev.*, iv. 99).

[2] They are described by Theodore F. Dwight in a letter printed by Mellen Chamberlain in his paper on the *Authentication of the Declaration of Independence* (Cambridge, 1885, p. 19). The "Rough Journals" (Sept. 5. 1774–Mar. 2, 1789) are the original minutes, contained in thirty-nine foolscap volumes. Of this, for the interval Sept. 5, 1775–Jan. 20, 1779, there is a fair copy in ten volumes, and the published journals are said to have been printed from this copy, a committee of Congress marking out what was not to be transcribed for the printer. A third journal is the "Secret Domestic Journal," May 10, 1775-Oct. 26, 1787. A fourth is a "Secret Journal, foreign and domestic," Oct. 18, 1780–Mar. 29, 1786. A fifth is a "Secret Journal of Foreign Affairs," Nov. 29, 1775–Sept. 16, 1788, in three volumes. A sixth is an "Imperfect Secret Journal," Sept. 17, 1776–Sept. 16, 1788. A seventh is the "More Secret Journal," in which there are few entries. An eighth, a "Secret Journal A, 1776–1783," being minutes afterwards entered in the public Journals. Cf. *Amer. Quart. Review*, March, 1827.

The earliest publication of these *Journals* was that of the Congress beginning Sept. 5, 1774 (Philad., 1774, — Hildeburn's *Century of Printing . . . in Penna.*, ii. no. 3036). That of the session opening May 10, 1775, was printed in Philadelphia, Wilmington, and New York in 1775, and in London in 1776 (Sabin, iv. 15,543; Hildeburn, ii. 3229, 3410). What is known in the collected series of the *Journals* as vol. i. (Sept. 5, 1774–Jan. 1, 1776) was printed in Philadelphia, and reprinted in 1777, and also by Almon in London. The successive volumes were thirteen in all, but they went beyond the peace to 1788. Vol. ii. covered 1776 (Philad., 1777, and Yorktown, Pa., 1778, — Hildeburn, ii. 3577, 3727). There were issues in monthly parts, and such copies as were left over were used to make cartridges (Hildeburn, ii. 3409). Vol. iii. covered 1777 (Philad., 1778, — Hildeburn, ii. 3728). Vol. iv. covered 1778 (Philad., 1779, — Hildeburn, ii. 3900). For this year there were also monthly, and, later in the year, weekly parts (Hildeburn, ii. 3898, 3899). Vol. v. covered 1779 (Philad., 1782, — Hildeburn, ii. 4206). Vol. vi. covered 1780 (Philad., 1780, 1781, in monthly parts, — Hildeburn, ii. 4014, 4016). Vol. vii. covered 1781 and part of 1782 (Philad., 1781, — Hildeburn, ii. 4117). Vol. viii. covered Nov., 1782–Nov., 1783 (Philad., 1783, — Hildeburn, ii. 4311).

Mr. Paul Leicester Ford tells me that he finds the monthly issues much fuller than the collected volumes, and being intended for members only, less precaution was taken to keep secret information out of them. Mr. Ford is printing a bibliography of the Continental Congress in the *Boston Public Library Bulletin*.

In 1790 it was ordered that the whole series, Sept. 5, 1774–Nov. 3, 1788, should be reprinted, and they appeared in Philad. in 13 vols. in 1800, 1801. They were again reprinted at Washington in 1823 as *The Public Journals of the Continental Congress*, divided as follows: Vol. i., Sept. 5, 1774–Dec. 31, 1776; ii., Jan. 1, 1777–July 1, 1778; iii., Aug. 1, 1778–March 31, 1782; iv., April 1, 1782–March 3, 1789. This edition makes considerable omissions.

The Committee of Secret Correspondence and (after April 17, 1777) the Committee on Foreign Affairs kept records which were not included in the ordinary journals, nor printed in the series just described; but they do appear, in part, in *The Secret Journals of the Acts and Proceedings of Congress* (Boston, 1821–23), in four vols.: Vol. i., Domestic Affairs, 1774–78; ii., Foreign Affairs, 1774–Aug. 16, 1781; iii., July 1, 1781–May 15, 1786; iv., May 17, 1786–Sept. 16, 1788.

Neither of these printed series gives the record in full. Peter Force, in what he printed in the *American Archives*, seems to have collated the printed record with the originals; but, as it is presented by him, it is not altogether correct. G. T. Curtis (*Hist. of the Const.*, i. p. ix) urged the printing of a new revised edition, but a committee of Congress reported adversely.

G. W. Greene, in his *Hist. View of the American Revolution*, suggests that the full record should be printed, eked out for the debates, from as much as is preserved for us in the works of Adams, Jefferson, Gouverneur Morris, and others. Perhaps the best account of the doings of Congress after 1780 is to be found in Rives's *Madison*, vol. i. The *Madison Papers* (1841), vol. i., contain the debates from Nov. 4, 1782, to Jan. 21, 1783. Cf. Madison's views (*Letters*, iii. 362) on the proposed publication (1824) of the archives of the Confederation. The proceedings, from Thomson's papers as copied for Sparks, are in the *Sparks MSS.*, lxii. See *ante*, Vol. VII.

The members of the successive Congresses are enumerated in Ben: Perley Poore's *Polit. Register and Congressional Directory, 1776–1878* (Boston, 1878). The fullest and most accurate of lists of members, however, is in *The Collector*, i., No. 8. The best key to the journals and other Revolutionary publications is in *A Descriptive Catalogue of the government publications of the United States, Sept. 5, 1774, to March 4, 1881. Compiled by order of Congress by Ben: Perley Poore, Clerk of Printing Records* (Washington, 1885). The work is a large quarto, double column, fine print, and is supplied with an index of names of subjects. After much blundering, a system was reached which, followed for two years, produced this record of 63,063 publications. Mr. Poore's preface is a bold exposure of the unintelligent ways in which Congress undertook to have the work proceed, and of the makeshift manner in which it was finally done. Only 14 of

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Of the second or acquired class of papers, which have been gathered in the archives of the Department of State, the manuscripts of Washington were the earliest committed to its care, and of the most importance and interest. The documents relative to their purchase at different times are printed in the *U. S. Public Documents.*[1]

The contributions of Jared Sparks to the history of the Revolution are the most considerable that any one has made, and the personal associations of no other historian are so closely linked with the name and fame of Washington. Born (May 10, 1789) but a short time after Washington assumed the presidency, he was the first to form any systematic scheme for the publication of Washington's papers.

The manuscripts had not been, indeed, neglected by earlier writers. Gordon and Ramsay had drawn from them, but it was at the hands of Marshall that the most conspicuous use had been made of them.

The earliest publication of letters ascribed to Washington was made in London in 1777, in a volume called *Letters from General Washington to several of his friends in the year 1776*. It was pretended that the letters thus published had been captured while in the keeping of a servant of Washington, who fell into the hands of the British at the evacuation of Fort Lee. The letters were meant to represent Washington as at variance with Congress, and in opposition to the spirit of independence.[2] They are said to have been written by John Randolph, a Virginia loyalist.

Some years later the official letters of Washington, addressed to Congress, were copied from the archives of the Secretary of State, and the copies being taken to London by Mr. John Carey, they were printed there, in 1795, as *Official Letters to the Honorable American Congress, written during the War between the United Colonies and Great Britain.*[3] The occasion was now taken to impose once more upon the public the spurious letters, by representing that they were necessary to complete this collection, which was genuine; and accordingly, still further to confuse the public mind, other official and genuine letters, which the recent publication had omitted, were appended to them, and the whole was published in 1796, at first in New York and then in London, as *Epistles, domestic, confidential, and official, from General Washington, written about the commencement of the American contest, when he entered on the command of the army of the United States, . . . none of which have been printed in the two volumes published a few months ago.*[4] Washington never publicly disowned the forged letters till just on the eve of his retiring from the presidency in 1797. At this time he wrote a letter to the Secretary of State (March 3, 1797) which he desired might be preserved in the archives of the Department. He says of the letters, referring to the period of their first publication: "It was then supposed to be of some consequence to strike at the integrity of the motives of the American commander-in-chief, and to paint his inclinations as at variance with his professions and duty. Another crisis in the affairs of America having occurred, the same weapon has been resorted to, to wound my character and deceive the people."[5]

Except the life of Washington by Marshall, already referred to, there had been no considerable or authorita-

its 1241 pages were required to give the publications during the Revolution. The work is more useful than might have been supposed would be the case from the perplexing environments of the editor; and E. E. Hale, in his preface to his *Franklin in France*, has said of it all that the circumstances permit. The misfortune is that it has precluded the probability of a better key.

These records of the acts of the government may be conveniently supplemented by the following records and publications: —

Records of the Revolutionary War, containing the Military and Financial Correspondence of Officers, Names of Officers and Privates of Regiments, Companies, and Corps, with dates of their commission and enlistment, General Orders of Washington, Lee, and Greene, etc., by W. T. R. Saffell (New York, 1858).

Almon's *Charters of the British Colonies in America*, (London, 1775).

Anthony Stokes's *Constitutions of the British Colonies* (London, 1783).

Israel Mauduit's *Short view of the history of the New England Colonies with respect to their charters and constitution* (London, 1776, — 4th ed.).

William Griffith's *Historical Notes of the American Colonies and the Revolution, 1754-1775* (Burlington, N. J., 1843).

The records of the councils of war, 1775-1781, from Washington's papers, are in no. lii., part 2, of the *Sparks MSS.*

A list of the general officers appointed by Congress, June 17, 1775, to Sept. 30, 1783, is in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Jan., 1866, p. 37, compiled by J. Colburn. Cf. Greene's *Historical View*, p. 452.)

Thomas H. S. Hamersly's *Complete regular army register of the United States, 1779-1879. With the official military record of each officer. Also, A military history of the Department of War* (Washington, 1880).

Proclamations for Thanksgiving in the United States of America, 1777-1858, with historical introduction and notes [by F. B. Hough], (Albany, 1858).

Niles's *Principles and Acts of the Revolution* (1822), a gathering of contemporary records, without chronological arrangement, but having an index. It was reprinted in 1876.

[1] *The Report of the Committee recommending an appropriation to buy the books and papers of Washington*, in *Reports of Committees, no. 381, 23d Cong., 1st sess., iii.*; John C. Calhoun's *Report on the papers of the Confederation and Washington, Jan. 8, 1845*, in *House Documents, no. 63, 28th Cong., 2d sess., ii.*; and *Acts, 30th Cong., 2d sess. (1849), ch. 100*, with *Statutes at Large*, iv. 712; v. 528, 691, 695, 760; ix. 162, 168, 370, 560.

[2] They were reprinted in New York in Rivington's *Royal Gazette* in Feb., 1778, and subsequently in a separate issue, as well as in other editions in London. Sparks's *Washington*, i. 265; v. 376, 391; *Sparks's Catal.*, nos. 2777, 2778. Irving (*Washington*, iii. 332) says they were printed in New York in a handbill, and extracts were published in Philadelphia. Cf. Hildeburn's *Bibliography* (1778), ii. 3649. They were again printed in Philad., by Wm. Duane, in 1795.

[3] They were published as vols. i. and ii. of *American State Papers.* They were reprinted in Boston and New York in 1796.

[4] Sparks's *Washington*, xi. 184; *Sparks's Catal.*, no. 2772; Allibone, p. 2596.

[5] Sparks's *Washington*, xi. 192.

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tive memoir of him published before Sparks began his labors on these Washington papers.[1] Some time before 1824 Sparks had begun to think of collecting material relating to Washington, and finally, with the friendly coöperation of Judge Story, he succeeded, after one failure, in gaining the assent of Judge Bushrod Washington, nephew of the General, and at that time the owner of Mount Vernon and guardian of the papers,[2] to examine them and make selections for publication. His contract with the Judge was signed June 18, 1827, and the friendly patronage of Marshall was also secured for the undertaking. From March to May of that year Sparks was at Mount Vernon making his researches, and from that mansion he wrote two letters to Story (May 4 and 7), the first of which was published in the *National Intelligencer* in Washington, May 19th, and both were printed in a tract entitled *An account of the Manuscript Papers of George Washington, which were left by him at Mount Vernon, with a plan for their publication* (Boston, 1827).[3]

The papers were removed from Mount Vernon to Cambridge, Mass., and here, with clerical assistance and some interruptions, Sparks spent ten years[4] upon his task of selecting and annotating such parts as best suited his purpose of furnishing, according to his view, a complete memorial of Washington's character and actions. These interruptions consisted of visits to various state and family archives, and to battlefields, and covered a trip to Europe, whither he went to procure from the English and French archives such documents as he was privileged to copy, and which might aid in the elucidation of Washington's text, or furnish the material for later labors. He was particularly supplied by Lafayette with his own papers, and copies of his letters to the French government. It was while thus engaged in Cambridge that he delivered an address[5] before the Phi Beta Kappa Society on the study of American history, in which, referring to the stores of material on our Revolutionary history at that time unexplored in this country and in Europe, he said, "No Rymers have yet appeared among us who were willing to spend a life in gathering up and embodying these memorials;" and he refers to the period from the close of the French war to the peace of Paris as one "rounded with epic exactness, having a beginning, a middle, and an end; a time for causes to operate, for the stir of action, and for the final results."

The second but first-published volume of the *Washington* was ready for the public in 1833, and in July, 1837, Sparks finished the life of Washington, which constituted the first volume of the twelve.[6] He had fairly and with clearness announced in his preface the principles and limitations of his editorial method. He had explained that in most instances he had been forced to follow the letter-books, and had shown that these transcriptions differed from the rough drafts which Washington kept, and probably differed from the letters actually sent. In cases where he could procure the letters as received by Washington's correspondents, he had followed them, instead of the letter-books; but of these he says, "The discrepancies are of little moment, relating to the style and not to the substance;" and he further said that these variations were much greater in the letters written at Mount Vernon and before the Revolution than in those composed during his service in the field, in the later war. In the introduction given in his second volume, Sparks explained how useless it would be to print in full every letter, even those selected, when they were of the same or neighboring dates and addressed to different correspondents, and necessarily in large part repetitionary. Sparks distinctly declared his intention to omit this duplication of narrative, as well as "unimportant passages, relating chiefly to topics or facts evanescent in their nature and temporary in their design." He also announced his purpose to correct obvious blunders of transcribers, and even the awkward use of words and inaccuracies of style, though the misuse were Washington's own, "maintaining a scrupulous caution that the author's meaning and purpose

[1] Before Marshall's publication in 1804, there had been nearly 50 articles, tracts, or small volumes on Washington's life; and during the 20 years following, W. S. Baker in his *Bibliotheca Washingtoniana* (Philad., 1889) enumerates about 100 titles or editions, in English or translated. For the early lives, see *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 300.

[2] While Wm. B. Sprague was a tutor in a family near Mount Vernon in 1816, he obtained from Bushrod Washington permission to take 1500 letters from the Washington Papers, provided he left copies in their stead. This was the foundation of Dr. Sprague's famous autograph collection. (Draper's *Essay on Autograph Collections*, 14.)

[3] From this tract we learn in what condition Washington left his papers. It was his custom to make fair copies of all his letters, and to preserve these together with the original drafts. Before the Revolution, these were usually made in his own hand. Near the close of the Revolution (*Washington*, ii. p. 8) Richard Varick was employed for two years and a half (*Washington*, ix. p. 3), with two assistants, in arranging and copying the correspondence of the war, and in filing and indorsing the originals, giving them index letters and figures to facilitate reference. In the form of transcripts the mass pertaining to the Revolution makes forty-four large volumes, in a chronological arrangement, with an index to each. They are divided as follows: —

1. Letters to Congress and its committees, members, and foreign representatives (seven vols.).
2. To military officers (sixteen vols.).
3. To conventions, governors, etc. (five vols.).
4. To foreign ministers (two vols.).
5. To British officers and subjects (one vol.).
6. Minutes of Councils of War (three vols.).
7. Private letters (three vols.).
8. Military orders (seven vols.). (Cf. also introduction to Sparks's *Washington*, vol. ii.) One volume is said to have disappeared.

In this condition the papers were left by Washington, in a fireproof safe which he had built for them. Washington's orderly book during Braddock's expedition is in the Library of Congress. The widow of Washington is said to have destroyed before her death all the letters which had passed between her and her husband.

[4] He lived at this time in the house which Washington had occupied as headquarters in 1775–76, later known as the "Craigie House," and the home for many years of Longfellow.

[5] It was subsequently printed in part in *The Boston Book* (1837), and *American Museum* (1839), and separately from the type of the former publication.

[6] Cf. *ante*, Vol. VII. 302.

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should thereby in no degree be changed or affected." He so far departed from Washington's own arrangement as to throw all his selections into one chronological sequence. In the same introduction to his second volume Sparks draws out more elaborately the distinctive character of the correspondence of the Revolution, and says that the first drafts had been for the most part destroyed, of which even the letters in its files are often copies, — so that the question of immediate authorship, as between Washington and his secretaries, is one in most cases quite beyond solution. He also expresses his sense of obligation for the access which had been granted him in England and France to their respective governmental archives.[1]

These statements of Mr. Sparks had clearly defined his method of editing; but it was left for the student subsequently to learn from the text of the book itself, as he might have opportunity for comparison of originals, the character and extent of the changes or rectifications which Sparks had felt to be necessary in preparing the letters for the public eye. In the same way the student might, as occasion offered, discover how far Sparks had made omissions, for he unfortunately had failed to employ in the printed page the customary signs of such omissions;[2] and how he had patched together letters written at different times. It was not till 1851 and 1852 that his editorial method, and his use of it, were questioned;[3] and when Lord Mahon (later Earl Stanhope) reached the sixth volume of his *History of England*, he joined the assailants and charged Sparks with greatly altering, in order to embellish, the language of Washington, and with modifying the expressions of the commander-in-chief so as not to wound the sensibilities of New Englanders. The charge, as put, was inconsiderate, and was in part retracted, though not so completely as Sparks could have wished.[4] The vindication, as far as it affected the integrity of the editor, was complete; for it was made clear that the differences were in most cases due to the fact that the letter-books which Sparks followed differed from the letter actually sent; and that some of the serious omissions were simply passages repetitionary of others, where reiteration was needless. The result of the whole controversy was, that, while Sparks had completely vindicated himself from charges that affected his integrity, he had not convinced historical students that it was an editor's proper function to rectify language that better expressed the environments of the man and the occasion,[5] and that

LORD MAHON.*

[1] Cf. also the *Sparks Catalogue*, p. 229.

[2] Van Buren (*Political Parties*, p. 104) points out a significant instance of omission of passages which affect the judgment of events.

[3] *New York Evening Post; International Mag.; Westminster Review.* Cf. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, x. 263.

[4] Mahon found, as he thought, ground for his charges in the comparison of Sparks's text with the same letters as printed in Wm. B. Reed's *Life of Joseph Reed*, and in Force's *Amer. Archives.* Sparks answered the charges in *A Reply to the Strictures of Lord Mahon and others, on the mode of editing the Writings of Washington* (Cambridge, 1852, — originally in the *N. Y. Evening Post*). This tract was reprinted in London (1852) with an appendix containing John G. Palfrey's review of Mahon's history, taken from the *North American Review* (July, 1852), in which the dispute in question is examined; and while in the main he vindicates Sparks, he still questions that editor's austere repression of sympathy with human levities. Mahon withdrew his most serious charges when he responded in a *Letter to Jared Sparks: a rejoinder to his Reply*, etc. (London, 1852). In later editions of his *History* (vol. vi., App.), Mahon substituted this letter for the detailed charges which he had earlier made. Sparks made a rejoinder in a *Letter to Lord Mahon, being an answer to his Letter*, etc. (Boston, 1852), — originally published in the *National Intelligencer*.

Mr. W. B. Reed had furnished Sparks with copies of some of Washington's letters to Reed, which had also since been printed in the *Life of Jos. Reed*, and had thus given part of the ground for the charges against Sparks. Sparks, relying upon Reed's copies, would seem to have had some fear lest, in case Reed should ever print from the originals, some variations should appear in their texts. Cf. *Cooke Catal.*, p. 341. Sparks further said of these particular letters, that they seemed to him in style and construction the most imperfect that he had ever seen from Washington's pen. "They were evidently written in great haste, in perfect confidence, and without any thought that they would ever be published" (*Ibid.* p. 342).

Mr. W. B. Reed now published a *Reprint of Original Letters from Washington to Joseph Reed during the American Revolution, referred to in the pamphlets of Lord Mahon and Mr. Sparks* (Philadelphia, 1852). "The result of the comparison," says Dr. Ellis, "showed that Mr. Sparks had been a more faithful editor" than Reed's grandson, and Mr. Reed acknowledged that the omission of one or two sentences, "evidently the result of oversight," and a chief occasion of a part of Mahon's charges, was due to himself.

Sparks closed the controversy with some *Remarks on a Reprint of Original Letters, etc.* (Boston, 1853). These original letters are now in the Carter-Brown library. Cf. *Cooke Catal.*, p. 340; and the present *History*, *ante*, Vol. VI.

[5] Cf. Allibone's *Dictionary*, ii. 2192; Irving's *Life and Letters*, ii. 335; iv. 130, 146; Mahon's *England*, 5th ed., vol. vi., App. p. xxiv. It may be borne in mind how Sparks admitted that, if he had anticipated what exceptions would have been taken to some of his "stilting," he might have "weighed the matter more deliberately, and perhaps have come to a different decision." There is little enough in any event in the letters of Washington to disclose to us the fleeting sensations which enable us to depict the man as influenced by his contacts. Smyth (ii. 455) complains of this absence, where we might naturally expect such sensations to occur, in the letters to Congress.

* From Doyle's *Official Baronage*, iii. 408.

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failing to indicate omissions in a letter, though he might have had the example of Chief Justice Marshall, was not justifiable when the appearance of the printed page was such that one might naturally infer that the text was complete. Sparks never felt that the final amends made by Mahon were adequate, though, as Dr. Ellis[1] shows, social courtesies were later somewhat laboriously cultivated between these two American and English historians.

Four volumes of Sparks's copies of the Correspondence of Washington, 1775–1797, are in the Cabinet of the Massachusetts Historical Society, being those printed by him in his *Washington*.

There are, however, among the Sparks MSS. (no. lxv.) five volumes of Washington's letters to various persons, 1754–1789, which were copied while the originals were in Sparks's possession, and which were not

JARED SPARKS.*

[1] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, x. 267. Cf. also remarks of Mr. Winthrop on Stanhope's death, and a letter in which Stanhope said that Dr. Ellis's account of the controversy had been done with candor and courtesy (*Ibid.*, xiv. 192, 196).

Sparks's character as an editor has of late years been reconsidered in various ways. Mr. William H. Smith found among the Bouquet Papers (included in the Haldimand Papers in the British Museum MSS. 21,641, 21,658) the original letters which Washington wrote to that officer during the French war, and unaware of the existence of copies of them among the Parkman MSS. in the Massachusetts Historical Society, and of the synopsis of them made by Brymner, the Dominion archivist, in 1873, and supposing them new to students, he communicated them to the *Mag. of Amer. History*, Feb., 1888, printing in parallel columns the genuine text with that of Sparks, as far as the latter editor printed them (11), and adding such (14) as Sparks did not print. These were accompanied with charges affecting the integrity of Sparks, in utter disregard of the natural inference to be drawn from Sparks's preface to his second volume,—whence Smith had drawn Sparks's text,—that Sparks was obliged to use the letter-book copies, as subsequently worked over by Washington himself, since at that time the existence of the originals sent to Bouquet was not known. Sparks was doubtless responsible for some of the changes which he had made, but the bulk of the divergences pointed out by Smith was due to Washington himself. Hence the attack on Sparks was unwarranted in its extent. It was subsequently denied by officers of the Department of State that any evidence existed in the Washington Papers to show that Washington had ever at a late day rewritten his letters. It was represented in reply, that, whatever Sparks's shortcomings as an editor might be, his veracity was unquestioned. Upon further search being made, the identical volumes used by Sparks, and proving his statements, were found, as is acknowledged in Worthington C. Ford's preface to his edition of Washington's writings.

Further statements regarding Sparks's editorial canons were made in an address on the *Manuscript Sources of the American Revolution*, by Justin Winsor (*Papers Amer. Hist. Asso., 4th meeting*, and *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, July, 1887); in a paper by Mellen Chamberlain (*Papers Amer. Hist. Asso.*, iii. 35); and by Herbert B. Adams on the "Pioneer Work of Jared Sparks" in the *Mag. of Amer. History*, July, 1888. The project of Secretary Bayard to print the Washington Papers, as well as others in the Department of State, seemed again to draw attention to the subject, as did the late Francis Wharton's proposed edition of the Diplomatic Correspondence, and the edition of *Washington's Writings* now in progress, as edited by Mr. Ford. This last gentleman makes in his prospectus the following statements: —

"Since Mr. Sparks issued his edition of Washington's writings in 1834-37, an immense mass of new material, illustrating the history of the Revolution and the first years of the nation's existence, has been discovered. Manuscript collections, which in his day were jealously guarded in private hands, have been dispersed or deposited in public institutions, and so in a greater measure become accessible to the students of American history. The purchase of the papers of Washington by the national government, as well as the acquisition of the private correspondence of other leading spirits of that time, have preserved from dispersion and destruction historical material, the value of which can hardly be estimated, and of which little study and use have as yet been made. In addition to these rich stores of historical manuscripts, the close and minute study of American biography and local history has rescued from oblivion much valuable information, and so prepared the way to a more complete collection of Washington's correspondence, public and private, than could have been thought possible at the time Mr. Sparks compiled his volumes. Where he was obliged to be content with a rough draft or transcript, often imperfect and intended as a mere memorandum, the original may now be seen; where he was unable to find an explanation of the subject-matter of one of Washington's letters, the proper understanding of which depended more upon a letter written to Washington than upon the reply, we are now in the possession of such letter; many private papers of Washington, supposed to have been lost, have been brought to light, while it is within easy bounds of truth to assert that for every letter that Mr. Sparks printed, ten are available, throwing new and valuable light upon the military and political history of the day, and furnishing the means for deciding finally many questions that are in dis-

* A reproduction of Andrews' engraving (1855) of Stuart's unfinished portrait painted in 1828. There is a half-length painted by T. Sully and engraved by S. A. Schoff, which accompanies a memoir in the *National Port. Gallery*. There is an engraving of a bust by Powers, owned by the family, of which casts exist in Harvard College library and in the Mass. Hist. Soc. library.

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printed by Sparks; and during the last fifty years a very great number of Washington's letters have been printed which Sparks either did not know of, or could not include in his scheme.[1]

As a necessary complement to the body of Washington letters, Sparks had selected, while the papers were in his hands, a body of letters addressed to Washington, and from copies of them then made he arranged and published in four volumes at a later day, *Correspondence of the American Revolution, being letters of eminent men to George Washington from the time of his taking command of the army to the end of his Presidency* (Boston, 1853). He printed all letters entire, and corrected "errors of grammar and obvious blunders, the result of hasty composition."[2] He points out the necessity of this in respect to some of the English letters of Rochambeau and Lafayette.[3]

Beside the letter-books bound in Washington's time, there came into Sparks's hands a considerable mass of loose papers in bundles, and while they were at Cambridge, Sparks had these last arranged in a chronological order and bound, and added an index. The entire collection as it now stands in the library of the Department of State has an extent of more than two hundred bound volumes, including 62 volumes of letters written by Washington, and 119 of letters addressed to him.

The second and third manuscript accessions to the collections in the Department of State were successive parts of the *Madison Papers* bought in 1837 and 1845.[4]

pute through lack of the historical information needed to determine them. . . .

"Of the immense official correspondence which Washington conducted during the Revolution, only a very small part was printed by Mr. Sparks; and a large number of letters throwing important light upon military movements, the motives and the consequences, were rejected. . . .

"The charge has often been made that the misdirected zeal of Mr. Sparks led him into taking strange liberties with the written text of Washington, and there is much in his volumes to support the charge. In some instances parts of two letters are found joined as one, without any note of explanation; in others, a change of words, of punctuation, or grammatical construction, the omission or insertion of phrases, and the passing over of entire paragraphs, have lent a misleading tone to the printed text, and given occasion to disputes that a stricter adherence to the written page would have prevented."

[1] Some of the main sources of this kind may be indicated: — Lives of such of his officers as Reed, Greene, etc.; collections like the Mount Vernon letters in the Long Island Historical Society (cf. M. D. Conway in *Harper's Monthly*, April, 1889); the Letters from Washington to Heath, in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Col.*, xliv.; the *Letters by Washington, Adams, Jefferson, and others, written during and after the Revolution, to J. Langdon, New Hampshire* [edited by A. L. Elwyn] (Philadelphia, 1880); the correspondence of Washington and R. H. Lee, given in the *Life* of the latter (vol. ii. pp. 1–36); C W. Butterfield's *Washington-Crawford Correspondence* (Cincinnati, 1877); letters to Chastellux in the *Catholic World*, Nov., 1867; numerous letters in the *Mag. of American History*, particularly Feb. and Aug., 1879, and Feb., 1880; others in the *No. Amer. Review*, Nov., 1886. In the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, iii. p. 150, there is a list of Washington's letters printed since Sparks's edition.

The letters above noted as in the Long Island Historical Society, 150 in number, dated 1793–99, are announced for publication under the editing of M. D. Conway. Cf. Edw. Everett's *Orations*, iv. 446, for comments on this record of Washington's last years at Mount Vernon.

In addition to those in print, there are large numbers of Washington's letters never printed. These may be found in archives of the States, in the cabinets of the Massachusetts and other historical societies, and in all the principal collections of papers amassed by Washington's officers, — to say nothing of the stray examples in numerous autograph collections.

There are also other writings of Washington, now in print, which Sparks did not include in his volumes. Such is his Journal, the original of which is now among the Washington Papers. Parts of it, Aug. 1, 1781, to Nov. 5, 1781, are printed in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, 1881. From this point (1781) Washington did not resume his journal till Sept., 1784. His diary in 1789–90 has been printed. Another important paper is one giving Washington's characterization of his old companions-in-arms, written in 1791, when it was necessary to consider their fitness anew for service in case of a war with France. Sparks knew it, and there is a copy in the *Sparks MSS.*, xxxii., vol. ii. The original is now in the State Library at Albany, and it has been printed (1879) by Dr. Henry A. Homes, the librarian, and less perfectly in the *Magazine of American History*, iii. 81.

There is also among the Washington Papers the final draft of Washington's expenses during the Revolutionary war, all in his own hand, rendered as his only claim of a pecuniary nature upon the country, since he declined to receive any compensation for his services. They extend from June, 1775, to June, 1783. This document has been published as *Monuments of Washington's Patriotism, a fac-simile of his public accounts kept during the Revolutionary War, and some of the most interesting documents connected with his military command and Civil Administration* (Washington, 1841). A copy of Monroe's *View of the Conduct of the Executive*, with Washington's marginal annotations, was given by him to Judge Bushrod Washington, and by the latter to Judge Story, and while in the latter's hands Sparks copied the annotations. (Cf. *ante*, VII. 514.) These he printed, so far as they touched the body of that book, but with the same license of amendment and expurgation which he was accustomed to allow to himself; and only indicated indebtedness by saying that he was under obligation to "an eminent jurist." The book was left by Judge Story to Harvard College, and being, for no apparent reason, sealed up by its late president, Edward Everett, it was only lately brought to light.

[2] The work contains about 1000 letters from nearly 200 writers. He added in appendixes various letters, mostly from the papers of Schuyler, Gates, Lee, Lincoln, Sullivan, and Stark, illustrating the invasion of Canada in 1775–76; movements in Virginia and South Carolina in 1776; the campaign against Burgoyne (1777), and the movements on the Hudson (1777).

The letters of Col. Armand (1777–1791) in their imperfect English, copied from those among the Washington Papers, are printed in the *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1878.

[3] Sparks explains that, after Washington's death, Lafayette's letters to him were returned to their writer, and that he had printed those which he gave from copies furnished by Lafayette or by his son. The files of these copies are noted in the *Sparks Catalogue*, p. 226, nos. 84–89.

[4] *Statutes at Large*, v. 171, 309; ix. 235; xi. 117; xiii. 573; xiv. 348. $30,000 and $25,000 were paid for these lots respectively. Cf. advertisement to vol. i. of *Letters and other Writings of Madison.*

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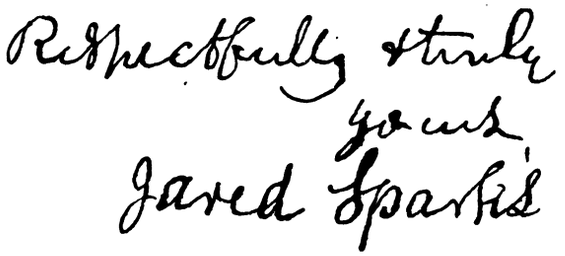
The papers consist of both originals and copies, and J. C. Hamilton says the copies omit parts of the originals, and that in his *Republic of the United States* he had made use of these omitted parts. When Madison was known to be preparing his papers for transmission, he was often supposed to be preparing an historical review of his times; but he seems never to have intended such a work.[1]



The fourth purchase was the *Monroe Papers*, in 1849, for which $20,000 were paid.[2]

The fifth included, beside the second part of the *Madison Papers* as already mentioned, the papers of Thomas Jefferson and of Alexander Hamilton.[3]

The Jefferson Papers were found after his death to embrace 26,000 letters written to him, and the drafts of 16,000 written by him.[4] They were in the hands of his grandson, Randolph, when he published his edition in 1829; and Tucker in 1837 made further use of them. When the government acquired them[5] they made 137 quarto volumes as bound. Randall found material still in the possession of the family, which formed an addition to the assistance he got from those in the government's hands, a large part of which had never appeared in any edition of Jefferson's works.[6]

The papers of Hamilton, embraced in 65 folio volumes, and costing the government $25,000, had been used by Mr. John C. Hamilton in his Life of his father in 1840, and were drawn upon by him again in 1850 in editing for the government an edition of Hamilton's writings.[7]

The last mass of historical papers acquired (1882) by the Department of State is what is known as the Stevens Collection of the Papers of Franklin.

It is first necessary to trace their relations to what we know of the manuscripts of Franklin. No publication of the works of Franklin, of any historical importance, appeared before the Collection edited by Benjamin Vaughan in 1779.[8] What is known as the Robinson edition of the *Works of Franklin* appeared in 1793, and included the re-Englished version of the Autobiography, with a continuation, mainly by Dr. Stuber, taken from the *Columbian Magazine*.[9] Then came Castéra's edition in French in 1797 or 1798 ("an VI de la Republique") in two volumes.

The London trade edition of 1806 was edited by Marshall, with the assistance of Benjamin Vaughan, and in the preface there was a charge that an authoritative edition of Franklin's writings from material in the hands of his grandson, Wm. Temple Franklin, had been kept back by the interference of the British government, who had paid for the suppression of the papers. There is no evidence to support such a charge, and W. T. Franklin indignantly denied it, though it is not improbable that his father, Gov. William Franklin, who lived till 1813, a pensioner of the crown for services rendered in America, may have been adverse to the publication of the family material. It is also not unlikely that the interests of the London publishers were so centred in the successive trade editions that no one would give sufficient encouragement to a new venture. The charge of bribery was sifted and found without warrant in the *Edinburgh Review* (July, 1806), but there was nevertheless a certain uneasy suspicion not wholly allayed, and shared in some degree by Jefferson,[10] that found some ground in the comparative scarcity of the diplomatic papers, which W. T. Franklin finally included in his *Memoirs of the life and writings of Benjamin Franklin, written by himself to a late period, and con-*

[1] *Letters and other Writings*, iii. 293, 308, 448, 549, 603; iv. 45, 182. I am informed by Mr. W. C. Ford, that a mass of letters to Madison from Washington, E. Randolph, E. Pendleton, Jos. Jones, Jonathan Drayton and others, beside several hundred drafts of his own letters, were retained by Mrs. Madison, and passed into the hands of Mr. F. B. McGuire of Washington, who now owns them.

[2] *Statutes at Large*, ix. 370. There are also Monroe papers in the keeping of Mrs. S. L. Gouverneur, jr. I am informed that they have latterly been deposited in the Department of State, and a Calendar of them printed. Schouler (*United States*, ii., preface) speaks (1882) of the unassorted mass of the Monroe papers in the State Department, and further says (iii., preface) that he examined the entire mass. These papers are at present classified in boxes and roughly calendared.

[3] *Act making appropriations for the civil and diplomatic expenses, approved Aug. 12, 1848.* $20,000 were voted by Congress for the purchase, and $6,000 for the printing. *Statutes at Large*, ix. 284, 594.

[4] Parton, p. 689.

[5] *Reports* on the purchase. Cf. Tompkin's *Bibl. Jeffersoniana* (N. Y., 1887), and Poore's *Descriptive Catalogue*.

[6] Cf., on the lives of Jefferson and the material used in them, *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 303, etc. An additional collection is described in a *Classified List of manuscripts, books, correspondence, etc., of Thomas Jefferson, offered by purchase to the United States by Sarah N. Randolph* (Washington, 1889). This collection consists of 3660 letters written by, and 5000 to, Jefferson; beside farm, garden, pocket, law memorandum, diary and account books, with other papers.

[7] *Statutes at Large*, ix. 284, 646. The originals were also examined, and such as had been printed were collated with J. C. Hamilton's text for Henry Cabot Lodge's edition of *The Writings of Hamilton*.

[8] A supplemental collection, which contained some of the political papers, appeared in 1787.

[9] Stevens's *Hist. Coll.*, i. p. 170.

[10] Bigelow's ed., introd.; and *Edinburgh Review*, July, 1830.

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tinued to the time of his death by his grandson, William Temple Franklin, now first published from the original manuscripts, comprising the private correspondence and public negotiations of Dr. Franklin, and a selection from his political, philosophical, and miscellaneous works (London, 1818, 1817, 1819, — 3 vols. in this order of date). This was published in three quarto volumes, and in six octavos. William Duane had already entered upon the publication of an edition in Philadelphia (first volume issued in 1809) when W. T. Franklin's was announced, and by a later agreement the two editors finally worked in unison, one preparing the edition for the London market and the other that for the American, which last was issued in six octavo volumes and contains considerable matter not in the London edition.

The first volume of Duane's edition (the last issued) is called *Memoirs of the life and writings of Benjamin Franklin, written by himself and continued by his grandson, W. Temple Franklin; together with the whole of his political, philosophical, and miscellaneous works* (Philad., 1818).[1]

The other volumes are called *Works on philosophy, politics, and morals, beside all the writings published in former collections, his diplomatic correspondence, a variety of literary articles and epistolary correspondence, never before published, with memoirs and anecdotes of his life.*

Colburn, in London, also published in 1817 Franklin's *Private Correspondence, comprising a series of letters written between 1753 and 1790, . . . from the originals, by his grandson, William Temple Franklin*, which in a second edition (1817) contained a supplement not in the large work. This was only a separate issue of vol. ii. of the *Memoirs*.

This was the condition of affairs when Sparks, having finished his *Washington*, turned his attention to Franklin. His first venture was to annotate what he called *A Collection of familiar letters and miscellaneous papers of Benjamin Franklin, now for the first time published* (Boston, 1833; and beginning *Familiar Letters*, etc., London, 1833). It was between 1836 and 1840 that he published at Boston, in ten volumes, what remained for fifty years the standard edition of Franklin's works: *The Works of Benjamin Franklin, with notes and a life of the author*.[2] In the first volume Sparks gave the autobiography, following the text of W. T. Franklin, to which he added a continuation to Franklin's death.[3]

[1] There were reissues of this edition in Philadelphia, 1834, 1840, 1858. Vols. v. and vi. of Duane's edition were translated badly in French by Charles Malo, and published at Paris, 1817, as *Correspondence inédite et secrète du Docteur B. Franklin.* Cf. Ford's *Bibliog. of Franklin*, with some parts of which that gentleman has favored me in advance of publication.

[2] Reissued, Boston, 1844–56; Chicago, 1882. The plates were at one time in the hands of Henry Stevens, who intended to issue a new edition with the aid of the MSS. in his keeping; but because these MSS. became pledged, or for some other reason, the project was added to the numerous unperfected ventures of that gentleman (Sabin, vii. p. 27). The plates are now, or were recently, owned by W. F. Poole, of Chicago.

[3] This volume was issued separately in 1844, 1856, 1857, 1859, etc.; reprinted in London in 1850, and in Dessau, Germany, in 1854.

The autobiography has a distinct story of itself, which may well be told here. It was written in parts successively in 1771, 1784, and 1788. It is known that Franklin gave or perhaps lent a copy, before the final pages were written, to M. le Veillard, mayor of Passy, and it is probable that at some period copies were intrusted to Dr. Price and Benjamin Vaughan in London. It was first made public early in 1791 in a French version, *Mémoires de la vie privée de Benjamin Franklin, écrits par lui-même*, published in Paris by Buisson, usually attributed to Jacques Gibelin; but this version was only of the part first written. It is not certainly known what copy of the original the translator used, though Le Veillard, to vindicate himself against the charge of injuring W. T. Franklin's interest, published a protest against the publication. It was from this French rendering that a German version was published in Berlin in 1792; and an English version was printed in London in 1793 by Robinson, in an issue of the works of Franklin edited by Vaughan, after the publication had been delayed for nearly two years in hopes that W. T. Franklin's edition would appear. This book, the *Works of the late Dr. Benjamin Franklin, consisting of his life written by himself, together with essays*, etc., was the same year reprinted in Dublin, and has since been often reproduced in Great Britain and in America, and the text of the autobiography was followed in the main in an improved French translation by Castéra, published in 1798. Another English retranslation appeared also in 1793 in London, published by Parsons, and called *The private life of the late Benjamin Franklin, . . . originally written by himself, and now translated from the French, to which are added some account of his public life, a variety of anecdotes concerning him, by MM. Brissot, Condorcet, Rochefoucault, Le Roy, etc., and the Eulogium of M. Fauchet.* This was the first English edition.

It is not known that this last London translation has ever been reprinted; and the publisher announced that he had withheld it from earlier issue for the same reasons as influenced Robinson.

The first authentic English text was that included by William Temple Franklin in his *Memoirs, correspondence, and selections from the Works of Benjamin Franklin*, London, 1817–18. The editor, to secure a fair copy of the autobiography for the printer, gave the original MS. to the then representative of Le Veillard, in exchange for the clean copy which Franklin had given to that friend, — the grandson not observing, at the time, that Franklin had added some pages to the original after the copy had been made for Le Veillard, and so accordingly the 1817 edition was deficient in these final pages. It long remained, however, the accepted English text, and is followed by Sparks. A third French version was made from this 1817 text, and appeared the next year in Paris, without name of translator, though it is attributed to M. de la Mardelle. It is called *Mémoires sur la vie et les écrits de Benjamin Franklin, publiés sur le manuscrit original rédigé par lui-même en grande partie, et continué jusqu'à sa mort par W. T. Franklin* (Paris, 1818). It made part of a translation of the entire work; but only 3 volumes, of which this was the first, were printed.

A fourth French version, *Mémoires sur la vie de Benjamin Franklin*, was published by Mons. A. C. Renouard in 1828. He seems to have had access to the original then in France, and the final pages omitted in the 1818 edition were given. Sparks does not seem to have been aware of these additional pages being known when, twenty years later, he published the 1818 text. In 1852 Henry Stevens examined the original manuscript at Amiens, but declined to pay the £600 for it which the owners then asked. These final pages seem to have escaped Laboulaye's notice, when

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To render his edition as complete as possible, Sparks made special efforts to ferret out what unpublished material there was. He found various letters among the papers of Cadwallader Colden; others in the Logan MSS.; a few addressed to John Bartram the botanist; others sent to Jared Eliot, James Bowdoin, Mary Stevenson, Jonathan Williams, Samuel Franklin, Catharine Ray, Charles Thomson, and his sister, Jane Mecom. He also included for the first time a few letters to Lord Kames and David Hume, and the letters written from London by Franklin when the agent of Massachusetts.

A mass of correspondence between Franklin, Dr. Cooper, and Gov. Pownall, about the political symptoms which preceded the outbreak of the Revolution, was left in Boston by Dr. Cooper, and taken to England by Dr. Jeffries after the siege, and so found its way into the King's library, — a copy of which Sparks procured.[1] The most important new material Sparks derived from papers which W. T. Franklin left behind in Philadelphia, when he went to England in 1790, with what he supposed to be the most valuable of his grandfather's papers. After being for fifty years undisturbed in the Fox mansion in Philadelphia, these papers were submitted to Sparks. They include what was saved of a mass of papers which Franklin left with Galloway when he went to France in 1776. These papers were either carried off or scattered about Galloway's house when the British evacuated Philadelphia in 1778, and those that could be gathered together were preserved by Bache and were finally added to the Fox collection. Thus it was that Sparks added about 650 pieces to the papers which had before constituted editions of Franklin's writings, and of these 460 had never before been printed. He adds that "many papers known to have once existed he had not been able to find." This was in 1840. It was not then known how large a proportion of the papers, which W. T. Franklin had taken to London, he had failed to embody in his edition of Franklin's works. There seems to have been some disagreement between Franklin's grandson and Colburn, his publisher, respecting the desired extent of the *Works*, and it was finally agreed that the venture should be made with three quarto volumes, and that it should rest dependent on the commercial success of the venture whether supplemental volumes should be issued. The public meanwhile was kept ignorant of any such contingent intention. When the grandson died in Paris in 1823, the rest of the manuscripts was locked in a chest and put on deposit in a banker's vault in London, and from thence his widow removed them, Sept. 27 of that same year. Sparks searched for them in vain in 1834, and was forced to supply their places as best he could from the French archives. The papers meanwhile were lying on the top shelf of an old tailor's shop in St. James's, in loose bundles, which included those which had already been in the printer's hands and those which had not. Just at the time Sparks finished his edition (1840), a gentleman in office under government recovered them and brought them to light, and from time to time offered them for sale in bulk to the British Museum, to Lord Palmerston, and to successive American ministers; but it was supposed that they had all been printed, and negotiations lagged. In 1851 they were offered to Abbott Lawrence, then the American minister, and the owner of them was referred to Henry Stevens, who soon bought the collection, and seeking Colburn, the publisher of the 1817 edition, who was then living, he learned the facts regarding the intended second instalment which the moderate success of the first had never prompted him to undertake, though there had been inducements to reissue, by substituting new titles, the edition of 1817 in 1833; and up to that time Colburn had not been able to trace the remaining manuscripts. The papers finally passed out of Henry Stevens' hands as security for a debt, and at this time his brother B. F. Stevens arranged them, undoing some arbitrary disarrangements of W. T. Franklin, and found the entire mass — including a few added from other sources — to consist of 2938 documents, of which 2310 had never been printed. The 628 which had been printed were found to vary considerably from the print, and to be in some portions defective, particularly those which W. T. Franklin had edited, as he had worked with considerable license in his editing, and Franklin himself had the habit of altering his successive drafts before he gave his papers final shape in his press copies. Henry Stevens, who regained possession of them in 1881, reports that the collec-

in 1866 he translated the text in Sparks's edition, and published his version in Paris. The latest issue is called *Autobiographie: Traduction française par Ed. Laboulaye* (Paris, 1887).

The next year the Hon. John Bigelow secured by purchase, for 25,000 francs, the original manuscript from its then owner, the representative of the widow Le Veillard, and, collating it with the 1818 edition, found numerous differences — mostly of minor character — and observed the addition of the final pages. He printed the manuscript with close accuracy in 1868 at Philadelphia — thus giving the whole for the first time as Franklin wrote it — under the title of the *Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin, edited from his manuscript, with notes and an introduction*, — the last tracing elaborately the history of its composition and the vicissitudes of its published form. (Cf. Dr. S. A. Green's *Story of a famous book*, Boston, 1871, originally in *Atlantic Monthly*, Feb., 1871, and H. Stevens's *Franklin Collection*.) Bigelow did not attempt to complete the story of Franklin's life, as Sparks and others had done; but later in 1874 (second ed. revised, 1879) he reissued the autobiography, together with a continuation, produced by connecting together, in a chronological order, extracts from Franklin's letters and other writings to justify the title, *Life of Franklin, written by himself, now first edited from original manuscripts and from his printed correspondence and other writings*. In his third volume Bigelow gives a bibliography, based apparently upon Sabin, and there is an enumeration of the editions of the autobiography in the *Catal. of works relating to Benj. Franklin in the Boston Public Library*, p. 9. (Cf. Derby's *Fifty Years among Authors*, p. 676; Duyckinck, *Cyclop. of Am. Lit.*, supplement, p. 142.) Bigelow has again reprinted the autobiography in the first volume of his *Works of Franklin* (1887). The most considerable life of Franklin, using the autobiography and other works as material, was *The Life and Times of Benj. Franklin* (1864) by James Parton. References to lesser characterizations will be found in Allibone (under Sparks and Franklin), *Poole's Index*, the *Mem. Hist. of Boston*, ii. 295, etc.

[1] Cf. Sparks's ed. *Franklin's Works* (Boston edition), vii. 440, 475.

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tion contains 2430 pages which had never been printed; 1195 which only Sparks in his edition had given; 246 which had made part of the *Diplomatic Correspondence*, and were not to be found elsewhere; and 300 which were in both of these publications. Stevens computed that the unprinted mass would fill five of Sparks's volumes. The collection, thus arranged by Stevens, was in 1882 bought for £7000 by Congress, and deposited in the Department of State.[1]

The acquisition of these Franklin papers by the government has led to a new edition of the *Complete works of Benjamin Franklin, including his private as well as his official and scientific correspondence, and numerous letters and documents now for the first time printed, with many others not included in any former collection; also the unmutilated and correct version of his autobiography. Compiled and edited by John Bigelow* (New York, 1887–88). The edition is restricted to 600 copies. Its editor includes in a strictly chronological order such of Franklin's writings in this Stevens collection as appears to be of permanent value, and such other material as has been brought to light since Sparks's edition, making between 350 and 400 pieces not before collected. Bigelow says that he has compared Sparks's text with the original papers where he could, and that, though some faults are discernible (vol. i. p. xxvi), the examination showed Sparks's collations to be reasonably correct. Another fruit of this Franklin acquisition was a book by Edward E. Hale, father and son of the same name, *Franklin in France* (Boston, 1887–88), in two volumes, in which, however, the use of the papers was not confined to those from Franklin's pen, but such other papers among them as elucidated the career of the commissioners in France under the lead of Franklin, were also used. The judgment of these writers is, that, while the Stevens papers throw some light in details upon the historical events of the Revolution, they make necessary "no revision of judgment in important matters" (p. xii).

Other use of the new material was made by Dr. Francis Wharton in the appendix to the third volume of his *Digest of International Law* (Washington, 1887). Cf. *ante*, Vol. VII. pp. 165, 169.

The Department of State has also in its custody a large collection of copies (nearly 500) of maps, manuscript and printed, illustrating the progress of geographical discovery on the coasts of America from the earliest times, which were made under the direction of Dr. John G. Kohl while he was in the employ of the U. S. Coast Survey in studying the development of American cartography as respects the Atlantic, Pacific, and Gulf coasts of the United States, memoirs on which he left behind him in this country when, disappointed in the support which he had hoped from Congress, he returned to Europe in 1859. One of these memoirs on the progress of discovery on the Pacific coast exists in duplicate in the office of the Coast Survey and in the library of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester. This was the earliest of these papers which he prepared for the survey, and it was useful at the time as establishing an historical basis for the hydrographical work on the Pacific coast begun soon after the acquisition of California. Later he prepared other memoirs of a similar kind, concerning the Atlantic and Gulf coasts, and these are now in the office of the Coast Survey.[2] In the *Report* of that survey for 1884 (Washington, 1885), the historical part of his work was for the first time printed as a *History of Discovery and Exploration on the Coasts of the United States*. It was unfortunate to have printed without annotation these results of Kohl's labors thirty years after they were written out, and in neglect of the great advance of knowledge which had been made in the interval. Still the paper stands as the embodiment of the best knowledge which existed in Kohl's time. These studies of his were based on material which he at the same time was endeavoring to arrange in the collection of copies of

[1] The history of the collection was first set forth by Mr. Stevens as lot 1269 in his *Historical Collections*, i. p. 159, etc.,— a body of Americana, sold by him at auction in London in July, 1881. This lot was denominated "Mr. Henry Stevens's Franklin collection of manuscripts and printed books, all written by or in some way relating to Benjamin Franklin, . . . the whole to be offered in one lot, if not previously disposed of, at the upset price of seven thousand pounds." The statements of Stevens largely enter into the documents which chronicle the progress of the negotiations which led to the purchase: and these documents include letters of the successive Secretaries of State, Evarts and Blaine; the Report of Theodore F. Dwight, who was sent to England to examine the collection, and who appended to his report a chronological list of the MSS., showing where such as had been printed could be found; a report of Geo. F. Hoar for the Committee on the Library, and a letter of Edward E. Hale. The first attempt at a bill failed in the Committee. (*46th Cong., 3d session, Senate, Ex. Doc. 25; 46th Cong., 1st session, Senate, Misc. Doc. 21; and Report, no. 504.*) The measure later succeeded (*Act of Forty-seventh Cong., 1st sess., chap. 433,— approved Aug. 7, 1882*). Cf. also Theo. F. Dwight in *Amer. Antiq. Soc. Proc.*, Oct., 1882, p. 133; in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, June, 1883; R. Meade Bache in *Penn. Monthly*, May, 1882; and McMaster's *Franklin*, ch. 9.

There are other collections of Franklin's letters, of much less importance, such as the volume edited by William Duane, *Letters to Benjamin Franklin from his family and friends* (N. Y., 250 copies, dated 1858 and 1859). The *Sparks MSS.* (no. xvi.) contain collections of letters written by and to Franklin, copied while the originals were in Sparks's hands, besides various other memorials, and notes used by Sparks in his edition. Cf. *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1873, p. 246. Small lots of Franklin's letters are occasionally thrown on the market. (Cf., for instance, Puttick and Simpson's, London, *Catalogue of Autographs*, July 16, 1888, pp. 12, 13.)

The best bibliographical records of printed and MS. Frankliniana are the following: —

Catal. of works relating to Franklin in the Boston Public Library; Stevens's *Hist. Coll.*, i.; Sabin, vol. vii.; Allibone's *Dictionary*, vol. i.; and the preface to Bigelow's *Works of B. Franklin* (N. Y., 1887, vol. i.). An exhaustive Franklin Bibliography by Mr. Paul Leicester Ford is soon to be published.

[2] A letter from Kohl to Jomard, dated Washington, Sept. 6, 1856, and describing his work at that time, is printed in Jomard's *Fragments sur divers sujets de Géographie* (Paris, 1857).

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maps already referred to. This collection was sent by the Department to the editor of this *History* a few years ago, and the indexes of Vols. II., III., and IV. will show what use he has made of it. He rearranged the collection, and printed, as one of the *Bibliographical Contributions of Harvard College Library*, a classified and descriptive account of it, called *The Kohl Collection of maps relating to America* (Cambridge, 1886). While many of the maps, at the time Kohl formed the collection, were only known in this country in the copies of some of the rarer printed and manuscript ones which he had brought from Europe, where he had found them in public and private repositories, the thirty years since elapsed have seen many others brought to light, and still others rendered accessible to the student by some of the current reduplicating processes. For this reason the collection has ceased to have for the student the unique value, as a whole, which it formerly possessed; but at the same time there are some maps contained in it for which one would even now look in vain elsewhere, if his studies were confined to the facilities afforded in this country.

A committee of Congress, March 2, 1889 (*Ho. Rep. Repts., no. 4159, 50th Cong., 2d session*), recommended the purchase of the papers of William Vans Murray. The papers of Timothy Pickering, as quartermaster-general of the Revolutionary army, are now, as described later, in the Department of State.

The most extensive garnering in print of documentary material respecting the Revolution, which the government has authorized, is contained in the nine volumes usually cited as *Force's American Archives*.[1] Peter Force, who was born in New Jersey in 1790, had removed to Washington in 1815, and engaged in journalism. In 1833 he was the principal party to a contract with the government of the United States looking to the publication of an extensive series of large volumes, in double column, to include all available papers relating to American history from the earliest Spanish discovery. It was intended to form six series, — i., to 1688; ii., to 1763; iii., to 1774; iv., to 1776; v., to 1783; vi., to 1787. Force, who was the responsible editor, with great assiduity gathered his material from every public and private source within reach, from the archives of the government and of the several States, and from newspapers and from private papers, including also many printed books. He sought material also abroad, but was not allowed access to the State-Paper Office in London, though an application was made for him by the American Secretary of State.[2] The *Report made to John Forsyth, Secretary of State, on the Documentary History of the United States now publishing under an act of Congress, by Matthew St. Clair Clarke and Peter Force* (Washington, 1834), gives the contract of these gentlemen, dated March 19, 1833, for the work.[3] They also enumerate what had been done up to that time by Georgia and the Carolinas to secure copies of documents from England, and give an account of their own examinations in the older States, and of what they had ordered from England. The publication began with the first volume of the fourth series: *American Archives: Consisting of a collection of authentic records, state papers, debates, letters, and other notices of public affairs, the whole forming a Documentary History of the origin and progress of the North American colonies; of the causes and accomplishment of the American Revolution; and of the Constitution of Government for the United States to the final ratification thereof. Edited by Peter Force. Fourth series, vol. 1st, 1774 and 1775* (Washington, 1837), — opening with the king's message of March 7, 1774, and proceeding to the Declaration of Independence. There soon appeared to be agencies at work to stay the progress of the publication, notwithstanding the contract which had been made.[4] In 1838 Bancroft, in the *North Amer. Review* (vol. xlvi. p. 486), had uttered imprecations upon any who dared place obstacles in the way, and in 1840 the obstructive efforts seem to have been abandoned. In 1846 the six volumes which constitute the fourth series were completed. In 1848 the first volume of the fifth series appeared, and the third was issued in 1853, when, the appropriation being exhausted, no persuasion to be brought to bear upon Congress could induce that body to grant the appropriation called for under the contract, — so that the work at present consists of these nine volumes, which include papers between March, 1774, and Dec., 1776.[5]

Colonel Force, financially embarrassed by his outlay and debarred his legitimate return, finally negotiated with the government for the transfer of his library and vast collections of manuscript copies, intended for use in other volumes of the *Archives*, and in February, 1867, they were bought by the United States for $100,000 and transferred to the library of Congress.[6] Force died the next year.

[1] *American Archives. Consisting of a Collection of Authentic Records, State Papers, Debates, and Letters and other notices of public affairs, the whole forming a Documentary History of the Origin and Progress of the North American Colonies; of the Causes and Accomplishment of the American Revolution; and of the Constitution of Government for the United States, to the final ratification thereof. Edited by Peter Force and published by Act of Congress* (Washington, 1833–53). Nine vols. folio.

[2] Geo. W. Greene in *N. American Review*, xcii. 377. Beside the papers above cited, Mr. Greene furnished an account of Force, which, with a portrait of him, appeared in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, April, 1878 (vol. ii. 221). Cf. further Duyckinck's *Amer. Lit. Supplement*, p. 82; *Amer. Hist. Record*, Jan., 1874.

[3] This was made on the part of the government by Edw. Livingston. Cf. *Exec. Doc. no. 36, Twenty-third Cong., second session, ii.; Rept. of Com. no. 849, Twenty-fourth Congress, 1st session, iii.; Senate Doc. no. 313, Twenty-fifth Congress, 2d session, iv.*

[4] *Letter from the Secretary of State on the contract with M. St. C. Clarke and Peter Force* (Washington, 1834).

[5] Unfortunately the indexes of the several volumes are inconsistent and greatly inadequate; and still more unfortunate was Force's habit of omitting the history of such of his documents as might need at any time authentication.

[6] See, on his library, *Hist. Mag.*, ix. 339, and on his papers, *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, May, 1882. Cf. *Report* of A. R. Spofford on Col. Force's library (Washington, 1867).

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G. W. Greene, in 1865, in the preface to his *Historical View of the American Revolution*, had said, "What a disgrace to the administration of 1853 and its immediate successor, that such a work should have been suspended, and the exhaustive researches and wonderful critical sagacity of such a man lost to historical literature, by the arbitrary violation of a solemn contract!"

An effort to repair the wrong has since been made. In May, 1879, the Senate took action which required a report[1] from the librarian of Congress, who reviewed Force's labors of forty years, setting forth the composition of the remaining papers which he had gathered, of a date subsequent to 1776, and coming down to 1789. It was estimated that this mass comprised 230,000 foolscap pages, and would make thirty volumes of the size of those already printed, but there might be some judgment exercised in omissions, as there was certainly need of large additions from material made available since Force ceased to collect. The *Report* represented that the collection contained large selections from the papers of most of the prominent officers of the Revolution, the reports of the Board of War and the Treasury, and of committees of Congress; the correspondence of Congress and the States; much of other correspondence, private and official, as well as copies of the MS. Journals of Congress, now in the archives of the Department of State. The final result of this new movement was the authorization by Congress of its librarian to complete the publication of the material referring to the Revolution.

A new scheme[2] of printing the historical papers in the possession of the Department of State was recently arranged by the Hon. T. F. Bayard, Secretary of State, but Congress has failed to make the necessary appropriation for carrying it out.[3]

II. STATE AND PERSONAL ARCHIVES.

WHAT has been done by the several States to preserve their Revolutionary and other records, and by residents of the States to collect and transmit documentary illustration, may be best considered in the order of their geographical succession, from the north to the south, beginning with Massachusetts, which formerly held the extreme northeastern frontier. Cf. a paper on public archives, state and national, in the *New Hampshire Hist. Coll.*, v. 7, etc. Lyman C. Draper's *Essay on the Autograph Collections of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence and of the Constitution, revised and enlarged from the Wisconsin Hist. Soc. Coll.*, x. (New York, 1889), indicates what the autograph collectors in the United States have done towards preserving much valuable historical material, as shown in the enumerations which he gives in brief of some of the most famous collections, like those of Dr. Thomas A. Emmet of New York; Simon Gratz of Philadelphia; Ferdinand J. Dreer of Philadelphia; that of the late Prof. E. H. Leffingwell of Boston and other places; Dr. John S. H. Fogg of Boston; the State Historical Society of Wisconsin; Charles Roberts of Philadelphia; Col. C. C. Jones of Augusta, Geo.; Mrs. David J. Cohen of Baltimore; John Boyd Thacher of Albany; the Pennsylvania Historical Society; Col. Theodorus Bailey Myers of New York; the late Jos. W. Drexel of New York; the State Library of Albany; the late Mrs. Wm. D. Ely of Providence; T. Stamford Raffles of Liverpool, Eng.; Mellen Chamberlain of Boston, etc.

MASSACHUSETTS. — A synopsis of the archives of Massachusetts is given in the *Report of Commissioners upon the condition of the Records, etc., in the Secretary's Department*,[4] made in Jan., 1885, and printed by the State. Under the recommendations of this report, work has begun to prepare the archives for printing, but the State has to the present day done very little toward putting in permanent print any but its earliest records, like those of the Colony of New Plymouth and those of the later government of Massachusetts Bay.[5]

A large part of the bound MS. volumes, known as the *Massachusetts Archives*, pertain to the Revolution, to which may be added the usual executive and legislative records. Of such of these as were printed at the time, the *Journals of the House* cover that period, except between June 17, 1774, and July 19, 1775, and after May, 1780. In addition to these more general groupings, the Revolutionary War is represented in sixty large volumes, mostly relating to personal service on sea and land; in twenty-one regimental record books; and in a great mass of other papers referring to different departments of service and supervision.[6] Ben: Perley Poore in 1845 was authorized by the State of Massachusetts to examine the French archives and make copies or extracts of papers touching the history of Massachusetts, and ten volumes of these copies are now in the archives. They have been copied for the government at Quebec, and printed as a *Collection de manuscrits relatifs à la Nouvelle France* (Quebec, 1883), in four volumes.[7]

We have also in print the annual *Acts and Laws*,[8] and the *Journals of each Provincial Congress of Massa-*

[1] *Forty-sixth Congress, first session, Misc. Doc. no. 34.*

[2] *Senate Ex. Doc. 50th Cong. 2d sess., no. 142.*

[3] Messrs. Gales and Seaton at one time proposed a Legislative History of the U. S. (*Madison Letters*, iii. 59), and in 1883 Dr. Franklin B. Hough prepared a bill to authorize the publication of a documentary work to be called *The Centennial Hist. of the Government of the U. S.*; but it failed to become a law (*47th Cong., 2d sess., Report no. 1025*).

[4] Cf. *ante*, Vol. V. 617.

[5] Cf. *ante*, Vol. III. pp. 343, 359.

[6] Cf. *ante*, Vol. V. p. 164.

[7] See *ante*, Vol. II. 308; IV. 367; V. 617.

[8] The reprint of the Province Laws, as edited by Ames and Goodell, is not yet complete. Cf. *ante*, V. 167; and Abner Cheney Goodell, jr.'s *Chronological Sketch of the legislation from 1752 to 1884 on the subject of printing the Acts and Resolves of the Province of Massachusetts Bay. With a table showing the progress of the work done by the present commission, etc.* (Boston, 1889).

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chusetts in 1774 and 1775, and of the Committee of Safety, with an Appendix, containing the Proceedings of the County Conventions, Narratives of the Events of the Nineteenth of April, 1775, Papers relating to Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and other documents illustrative of the early history of the American Revolution. Edited by W. Lincoln (Boston, 1838).[1] The letter-books of Governor Belcher are in the Mass. Historical Society (cf. *ante*, V. 166, and the printed *Belknap Papers*, ii. 169). Other letters of his are in the English *Historical MSS. Com. Report*, xi. The records of the Committee of Safety after the British evacuated Boston are in the Boston City Hall.

Various public papers of the period 1765–1774, having been printed as *Papers relating to public events in Massachusetts preceding the American Revolution* (Philad., Seventy-Six Society, 1856), were in 1878 placed in the Cabinet of the Massachusetts Historical Society.[2]

Dennis De Berdt was made the London agent of Massachusetts, Nov. 7, 1765,[3] and there are in *Letters and Papers, 1761–1776* (MSS. in Mass. Hist. Soc.), various letters to and from him, beside a paper "Concerning Mr. De Berdt," and his memorial to Parliament, etc.

There are in the *Sparks MSS.* (no. xliii. vol. i.) copies, made in the State-Paper Office in 1840, of the correspondence between the royal governors of Massachusetts and the home government (1764–1774); and (vol. iv.) the correspondence and minutes of the Board of Trade (1765–1773).

"New England people, especially those of Massachusetts and Connecticut, have always been a documentary people," wrote Mr. Bancroft in 1838,[4] and by the aid of the State archives and the private possessions of papers, a local historical literature has been produced in rich abundance.[5]

The publications of the Massachusetts Hist. Soc. and of the N. E. Historic Genealogical Soc.[6] add to such resources.

The legislature has lately begun a movement to secure a better enumeration and to provide better security for the public records of parishes, towns, and counties in the commonwealth, and a preliminary *Report*, with extensive tabulations of the results of inquiries, has been made and published by the Commissioner Carroll D. Wright (Boston, 1889).

Outside of the State archives it seems probable that the most important collection of papers for historical purposes is that of the files of the Superior and Supreme courts, from 1629 to 1799, which are now undergoing arrangement with great care under the direction of Mr. John Noble, clerk of the Supreme Judicial Court, and with the immediate supervision of Mr. William P. Upham. These papers consist of about 18,000 documents or pieces before 1700, and about 135,000 for the eighteenth century (Wright's *Report*, p. xxxviii). For the early period of Massachusetts history the records of Boston have much more than local interest. Many of them prior to 1778 have already been put in print by the Record Commissioners of the city, and it is intended to continue the several series to the incorporation of Boston as a city in 1822. There is, however, a large mass of illustrative papers still in bundles and in perilous condition.

The enumeration of personal papers belonging to prominent people in Massachusetts is an extensive one, and will now be given mainly in an alphabetical order, as will be the rule under the other States.

The papers of John Adams have been in part represented in the *Works of John Adams, edited by his grandson, Charles Francis Adams* (Boston, 1850–1856), in ten volumes.[7] Adams says that he began to keep copies of his letters in 1774,[8] and his editor, referring to his duties, says that he has used of the letters the best copy attainable, though he has often been obliged to be content with the rough drafts of the copy-books;[9] and of Adams' diary he has made some omissions, but for other reasons than fear or favor.[10] In reprinting the published tracts of his grandfather, and in presenting his mass of official papers, the editor left scarcely more than the bulk of one of his volumes for the general correspondence,[11] which compelled him to make a rigid selection. "Probably," says the editor, "not a single leading actor of the Revolutionary period has left nearly so many

[1] It was praised highly by Bancroft on its appearance. (*N. Am. Rev.*, Apr., 1838, p. 481.)

[2] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Jan., 1878.

[3] *Calendar Lee MSS.*, p. 3.

[4] *N. Amer. Rev.*, Apr., 1838, p. 476.

[5] So far as Boston and its immediate vicinity, with Lexington, Concord, and Salem, are concerned, the notes to the authorities in other parts of this *History* show the use that can be made of such, but more distant regions are not without interest in our study of the Revolution, as shown in such books as Albert A. Lovell's *Worcester in the War of the Revolution* (1876), Smith's *Pittsfield*, Bailey's *Andover*, Chase's *Haverhill*, Paige's *Hardwick*, Sawtelle's *Townshend*, — not to name others.

Medway has printed her Revolutionary papers in *The Military History of Medway, 1745–1885*, by E. O. Jameson (Millis, Mass., 1887), showing the average work and sacrifices of a New England town.

One of the most extensive collections of objects illustrating New England life is that in the Memorial Hall at Deerfield, Mass., of which the Hon. Geo. Sheldon has prepared a *Catalogue* (Deerfield, 1886). It belongs to the Pocomtuck Valley Memorial Association. It shows several Revolutionary letter-books, orderly books (West Point, 1778–1782; Cambridge, 1775, etc.), and records of the Ninth Mass. Regiment (Col. Wesson), 1778–1780.

[6] See in the *Register* of this latter society, for instance, a list of the Massachusetts Field Officers (1871, p. 187), and a paper on Nantucket in the War (1874, July).

[7] Congress assisted the publication by taking 1000 copies at $22,500. (*Statutes at Large*, ix. 541, 646.)

[8] *Works*, ix. p. 596; but there are several between 1770 and 1773 given in vol. ix. p. 331, etc.

[9] *Works*, i. p. viii.

[10] *Works*, ii. p. viii.

[11] *Works*, ix. p. 331, etc., and vol. x.

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private letters as Mr. Adams," and those not printed, as well as the letters received by Adams, are left in the hands of his descendants for future opportune use.[1] Some portions of the family letters have, however, been made public in other shapes.[2]

In 1840 there appeared at Boston, in two volumes, the *Letters of Mrs. Adams, the wife of John Adams, with an introductory memoir by her grandson, Charles Francis Adams.*[3]

In vol. xliv. of the *Collections* of the Massachusetts Historical Society there is a brief correspondence between John Adams and Professor John Winthrop of Cambridge, conducted while Adams was in Philadelphia as a member of Congress in 1775–1776. In the same volume is the correspondence of Adams and Mercy Warren occurring in 1807, which has been referred to on another page.

The diary or *Memoirs* (1795–1838) of John Quincy Adams has been printed,[4] but as the edition was small it has become a scarce book. His other papers are very numerous, as described by C. F. Adams in the preface to the life of J. Q. Adams.

The papers of Samuel Adams were gathered "from various sources" by Samuel Adams Wells, who began the task in 1815, and had intended to write a history of the Revolution. He had actually advanced in the printing of it when he died, and the papers not long afterwards passed into the hands of George Bancroft. By that historian's permission Mr. Wm. V. Wells was allowed access to them in preparing his *Life and Public Services of Samuel Adams*,[5] published at Boston in 1865, in three volumes, in which large use was made of the papers. The author tells us that a portion only remains of the manuscripts left by the patriot. Soon after his death they were placed in the keeping of Benjamin Austin, who had intended at first to prepare a life of Adams, and from him they passed to irresponsible hands and suffered detriment from autograph-hunters, and even destruction in part from ignorant servants. It is even intimated that in 1808, after the death of Adams's widow, papers among the manuscripts, which it was for the credit of John Hancock's fame to be suppressed, were surreptitiously removed.[6] The efforts of Samuel Adams Wells followed, and we owe it to his care that among what is preserved are the rough drafts of Adams's state papers. Some documents have also been added of late years to the collection as left by Mr. S. A. Wells.[7] Mr. Bancroft, in his account of the collection as given in one of his prefaces in 1854, says: "They contain the complete journals of the Boston Committee of Correspondence, draughts of the letters it sent out and the letters it received, — so far as they have been preserved." "The papers," he adds, "are very numerous; taken together, they unfold the manner in which resistance to Great Britain grew into a system, and they perfectly represent the sentiments and the reasonings of the time. They are the more to be prized as much of the correspondence was secret, and has remained so to this day."[8]

[1] Speaking of the Adams papers at Quincy, Edward E. Hale, in the preface of his *Franklin in France*, referring to their extent, 1755–1866 (treaty of Geneva), says: "I know of no other collection in the world where the history of a great nation can be so studied in the biography of one family." These family archives, preserved in a separate building, built for the purpose, have been recently placed in the charge of Theodore F. Dwight, late of the Department of State at Washington.

[2] Mr. C. F. Adams has deposited with the Mass. Hist. Society such of the papers as are connected with John Adams's mission to negotiate a peace, 1779–1785, being duplicate in his family papers. There are in the *Sparks MSS.* (lii.) letters of John Adams and the Commissioners in Paris, copied from John Adams's letter-books, 1778–1783. Among the Rush papers in Philadelphia there is a series of letters by John Adams; and indeed such collections of differing extents can be found among the papers of many of his contemporaries.

[3] The book passed to a second edition at once, and a fourth edition, revised and enlarged, with an appendix containing the letters addressed by John Quincy Adams to his son on the study of the Bible, was published in Boston in 1848. As a companion work, a selection of the *Letters of John Adams addressed to his wife* was later printed, but did not prove so successful. In 1875 these two collections, so far as their letters fell within the period of the Revolution, were recast into a chronological order as one series, and with some additions appeared as *Familiar Letters of John Adams and his Wife, Abigail Adams, during the Revolution, with a Memoir of Mrs. Adams, by Charles Francis Adams.* John Adams said of this correspondence, in directing that it be preserved: "They may exhibit to our posterity a kind of picture of the manners, opinions, and principles of these times of perplexity, danger, and distress."

[4] *Ante*, VII. 299, 346.

[5] "Written with great elaboration and unqualified energy." (Lecky, *England in the Eighteenth Century*, iii. 361.)

[6] Wells's *Sam. Adams*, ii. 503.

[7] Wells's *Sam. Adams*, i., introduction.

[8] Bancroft, Final Revision, iii. 488. Bancroft says respecting the Secret Journal of the Committee of Correspondence, that Gordon's account of the doings of that committee is erroneous, as Gordon never had the confidence of Samuel Adams. *Orig. ed.*, iv. 428, 429. Various letters of Adams are given in Lee's *Life of R. H. Lee*, ii. 115, etc.

John Adams, writing to William Tudor in 1817 (*Works*, x. 264), says of Sam. Adams's papers: "I have seen him at Mrs. Yard's in Philadelphia, when he was about to leave Congress, cut up with his scissors whole bundles of his letters into atoms that could never be reunited, and throw them out of the window to be scattered by the winds. This was in summer, when he had no fire; in winter he threw whole handfuls into the fire. As we were on terms of perfect intimacy, I have joked him, perhaps rudely, upon his anxious caution. His answer was, 'Whatever becomes of me, my friends shall never suffer by my negligence.' Mr. Adams left the letters he had received and preserved in the possession of his widow. This lady lent them to a confidential friend of her husband, Mr. Avery, who then was and had been secretary of the commonwealth under the administrations of Mr. Adams and Mr. Hancock. Mr. Avery informed me that he had them, and that they were a complete history of the Revolution. I will not say into whose hands they fell after Mr. Avery's death, and I cannot say where they are now; but I have heard that a gentleman in Charlestown, Mr. Austin, undertook to write the life of Mr. Adams; but finding his papers had been so garbled that the truth could not be discovered, he abandoned his design."

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The Barrell papers, in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Cabinet, derive their chief interest from a series of letters written by John Andrews of Boston, between 1772 and 1776, to William Barrell, a merchant of Philadelphia, which were discovered by Capt. Geo. Gibson in the garret of the Schuylkill Arsenal in 1859. These letters vividly picture life in Boston during the siege, and have been printed, under the editorial eye of Winthrop Sargent, in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, viii. 316, etc.

The *Remsen Catalogue* (April, 1883, p. 92) shows some of the papers of Francis Baylies, which include a MS. History of the Revolution, with various Revolutionary documents.

The manuscripts collected by Jeremy Belknap, and now in the Mass. Historical Society, contain various papers of the Mathers, Joseph Dudley, and Jeremy Dummer.

The papers of Governor Bernard, which belonged to Chalmers, passed finally to Sparks,[1] and are now in Harvard College Library.[2] They begin in 1758 with his term as governor in New Jersey, and after 1760 pertain to his executive service in Massachusetts; and in vol. iii. (1763–1765) they begin to touch the period of the revolutionary agitation. The letters, of which he preserved copies in these letter-books, are mostly addressed to officers, agents, or servants of the home government, and report his observations on the current events in his province. He usually writes from Boston, though frequently in the summer from Castle William, and sometimes from "Jamaica Farm, near Boston." The letter-books end with vol. viii. (1769–1772), and in this last volume is a long paper, "State of the disorders, confusion, and misgovernment, which have prevailed and do still continue to prevail in his Majesty's Province of Massachusetts Bay in America," which Sparks has dated "Jan., 1774;" and a "List of papers relative to the Province of Massachusetts Bay, selected from the papers concerning riots and tumults in North America, laid before the House of Lords, from the first day of January, 1764, to the present time" [Jan. 28, 1774?]

Vols. ix., x., xi., xii. contain original correspondence (1758–1779), consisting of letters received by Bernard, with other papers pertaining to his rule in Massachusetts. Occasionally public papers are recorded not directly his own, as for instance the resolutions of Virginia and Massachusetts in respect to the right of Parliament to impose taxes, and a report thereon of a committee of the Privy Council, 1765 (vol. x.). Various papers about Mount Desert occur in these years. Bernard's recall (vol. xii.) is dated March 23, 1769, and it is followed by his petition to be heard before the Privy Council in answer to charges made against him by the House of Representatives of Massachusetts (pp. 147–167). There are other papers in relation to the charge, and to the other troubles of the time.

The final volume (xiii.) covers his orders and instructions (1758–1761), together with the royal permission for his return to England in 1768 (p. 243).[3]

There are in the Mass. Historical Society copies of the correspondence of Bowdoin and Pownall, 1769–1784, and of Bowdoin and Lafayette, 1780–1788. The Hon. R. C. Winthrop possesses a portion of the papers of Gov. Bowdoin, which came to him from his brother, James (Winthrop) Bowdoin.[4]

George Cabot destroyed most of his papers before his death; and Mr. H. C. Lodge, in his *Life of Cabot* (1877), depended almost wholly upon the letters of his ancestor which remained in the hands of Cabot's correspondents or of their descendants.

From the papers of Thomas Cushing, a series of letters, 1767–1775, are in the Mass. Hist. Society's Cabinet, and have been printed in their *Collections*, xxxiv. p. 347, etc.[5] Others of his papers were seized in Boston by Gage.

A small remainder of the papers of Francis Dana is preserved in the family. They include some Ellery and Trowbridge papers; the correspondence of Francis Dana with Count Ostermann, the Vice-Chancellor of Russia, 1783; a copy of Jay's secret journal, with letters appertaining; three of Francis Dana's letter-books; and letters from Adams, Franklin, Jay, Livingston, Gerry, Arthur Lee, etc. There are copies from his letter-books in the *Sparks MSS.*, xxxii., vol. ii.

The papers of Gen. Henry Dearborn, as well as those of his son, Gen. H. A. S. Dearborn, were arranged

Wells, referring to the replies of Adams to Hutchinson in 1773, says: "His original drafts have not been preserved; perhaps they were dispersed with the bulk of his papers after his decease. The MS. copies on file in the public archives are in the handwriting of one who often acted as his amanuensis."

[1] He bought them in 1848 of a gentleman in Providence. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, ii. 363, 384.

[2] Many of the letters of Bernard and Hutchinson to Hillsborough and Dartmouth are in the Chalmers papers in the *Sparks MSS.* (no. x., vols. iii. and iv.)

[3] Cf. Winsor's *Calendar of the Sparks MSS.*, no. iv.—published by Harvard College Library.

[4] The governor's papers were divided in unequal proportions between James Temple Bowdoin, of England; James (Winthrop) Bowdoin; Bowdoin College; and Mrs. George Sullivan. Some letters of Gov. Bowdoin's son-in-law, Sir John Temple, are also in Mr. Winthrop's possession. (*Note of R. C. Winthrop, Jr.*) I am informed by Professor Little, the librarian of Bowdoin College, that there are no papers of consequence by Gov. Bowdoin now there.

A miniature likeness of Gov. Bowdoin, by Copley, and in Perkins's judgment painted about 1770 (*Life and Works of Copley*, p. 37), is owned by the Hon. R. C. Winthrop, and is engraved in the *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. p. 195. Edgar Parker twice copied this likeness in life-size,—one of which pictures belongs to Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., and the other is in Independence Hall. There is a profile view in the *Mass. Mag.*, Jan., 1791, and a full-length in the *Amer. Mag.*, i. 373. For a list of the Bowdoin family portraits, see Daniel Goodwin's *Provincial Pictures* (Chicago, 1886), p. 71.

[5] A portrait of Thos. Cushing is in the Essex Institute, and is engraved in the *Mem. Hist. Boston.*

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by the latter for preservation in eleven quarto volumes.[1] By some arrangement between the executors of the younger Dearborn they passed into the hands of the late John Wingate Thornton (who was a co-executor), and were broken up, and what remained in Thornton's hands at the time of his death were sold at auction in Boston, Oct. 15 and 16, 1878.[2]

JAMES BOWDOIN.*

[1] Forty-five volumes, says Gen. J. S. Clark in an account in *Journals of the Mil. Exped. of Gen. Sullivan* (Auburn, N. Y., 1887), p. 62.

[2] Four lots were of distinctive value: —

No. 284. A military journal of General Henry Dearborn, beginning at West Point, June 24, 1780, and ending at Yorktown, Nov. 24, 1781. (Bought for Dr. T. A. Emmet, of New York, for $29.)

* After a cut in the *American Magazine*, vol. ii.

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The papers of Elbridge Gerry were used by Austin in his *Life of Gerry*.

There are in the Essex Institute the letter-book of Gen. John Glover, and his orderly-books, beginning at Cambridge, June 29, 1775, and ending in 1781. Some of the letters are printed by Wm. P. Upham in his *Memoir of General John Glover* (Salem, 1863),[1] as taken from the *Essex Institute Hist. Collections*, v. 49, 97, 159. Copies of some of Gen. Glover's papers are in the *Sparks MSS.* (no. xlvii.). Occasional letters of Gen. Glover are found in the Trumbull Papers (vol. ix., etc.).

It is not known that the papers of Christopher Gore exist, though his letters to others are preserved, as among the papers of Rufus King, with whom he had a voluminous correspondence.

The military papers of Capt. Moses Greenleaf (1775–1780) are in the cabinet of the Mass. Hist. Society.

In 1817 Mrs. Dorothy (Quincy) Scott, formerly the wife of John Hancock, placed with the Massachusetts Historical Society seven volumes of *John Hancock Papers*, containing minutes of the proceedings of the Congress of 1774, Hancock's own letter-books while president of Congress and governor of Massachusetts, and letters and minutes, copied from the originals, 1775, 1776. Most, if not all, of the material has been printed in Force's *American Archives*.[2] Such of the Hancock papers as were not included in this formal collection remained in the possession of the family, stored in the coach-house of the mansion on Beacon Street, Boston, till upon the sale of that estate in 1863 they were removed, and finally in large part passed into the collections of Charles P. Greenough and Mellen Chamberlain,[3] though a portion is supposed still to be in the hands of a member of the family.

The papers of Maj.-Gen. William Heath were used by himself, but not with any skill, in the *Memoirs* of his life,[4] which he printed in 1798. They fell under Sparks's observation when he was engaged upon his *Washington;* and in 1838 were bought of the family by Mr. Amos A. Lawrence, who arranged them and caused them to be bound and indexed, so that they formed twenty-six volumes of letters and papers, with two volumes of orderly-books, in 1859, when Mr. Lawrence gave them to the Mass. Hist. Society.[5]

The Hollis Papers, 1759–1771, in the Mass. Hist. Society's cabinet, cover the correspondence of Thomas Hollis, of London, and Jonathan Mayhew from 1759 to the time of Mayhew's death in July, 1766, — particulars of whose character and death, in letters from Samuel Mather, Edmund Quincy, Harrison Gray, Mrs. Elizabeth Mayhew (the widow), and Andrew Eliot, are also among these papers.

There is among the Hollis Papers a series of letters from Andrew Eliot to Thomas Hollis, 1766–1771, which have been printed in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections*, xxxiv. p. 398, etc.

The story of the vicissitudes of Gov. Hutchinson's papers is an interesting one. When the mob sacked his town-house, Aug. 26, 1765, "all of my papers," as he says,[6] "of every kind were scattered about the street, and I never afterwards attempted to separate my mercantile papers from those of another kind, when part of what had been thus scattered had been picked up and brought to me."[7] Among these papers thus exposed was the MS. of his history, which, after lying for several hours in the street, was gathered up by "my good friend and neighbor, the Rev. Mr. Eliot," — so that after several days' search only seven or eight sheets were

No. 441. Journal of Henry Dearborn, June 20 to Dec. 13, 1782, at Saratoga. (Bought by the Boston Public Library for $3.50.) Printed in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.* 1886.

No. 501. Journal of Henry Dearborn during the Kennebec expedition to Quebec, 1775–1776 (printed by Judge Chamberlain in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.* 1886), and his journal at Stillwater and Saratoga, Aug. 3 to Dec. 3, 1777. (This lot was bought by the Boston Public Library for $14.)

No. 1158. Military journal of Henry Dearborn, Dec. 5, 1777, to June 16, 1778. (Bought by the Boston Public Library for $35.) Printed in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.* 1886.

There is also a journal of the Sullivan expedition in the possession of C. P. Greenough of Boston (*Journals of the Mil. Exped. of Sullivan*, p. 63).

[1] This book has a lithographed portrait of Glover, which is better engraved in *The Campaign of 1776*. There is a statue of Glover by Martin Millmore in Commonwealth Avenue in Boston. Cf. *Harper's Monthly*, liii. p. 343; *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1868, p. 284. There are also in the Essex Institute library various records of the Mass. Eighth Regiment (of the Revolution), and other papers.

[2] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, i. 271; xiv. 184; *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 45. For Hancock's library, see *Hist. Mag.*, iv. 150.

[3] Mostly of the Stamp Act time.

[4] Washington, hearing of his intention, wrote to Heath: "Having always understood that you were exact and copious in noticing occurrences at the time they happened, a work of this kind will, from the candor and ability with which I am persuaded your notes were taken, be uncommonly correct and interesting" (Sparks, xi. 200). Sparks adds: "To skill in composition and elegance of style this book cannot lay the slightest claim; but as a record of facts chronologically arranged, and of events occurring under the writer's own observations, detailed with apparent candor and accuracy, it is not without merit" (*Ibid.* p. 200).

[5] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, iv. 287, etc., where notice is made of them by Sparks and Richard Frothingham; and a few of those relating to the siege of Boston, together with a correspondence between Heath and Charles Lee in Nov. 1776, are printed. The collection is rich in letters of Washington (1775–1783) addressed to Heath, and these have been printed in the same society's *Collections*, vol. xliv.

A considerable number of the Heath papers were discovered to have been in the hands of John Wingate Thornton when his manuscript collection was sold in 1878. They relate in the main to the period when Heath commanded in Boston in 1778, and include letters of Burgoyne, Gen. Phillips, and Baron Riedesel (from Cambridge), with one or two from Washington. There are occasional letters of Heath in the *Trumbull MSS.*, vii., etc. On the scattering of the Heath papers, see *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, March, 1888, p. 83.

[6] *Diary and Letters*, ed. by P. O. Hutchinson, i. 67, 71.

[7] "They scattered or destroyed all the MSS. and other papers I had been collecting for thirty years together, beside a great number of public papers in my custody." (Letter to Richard Jackson in *Mass. Archives*, xxvi. 146; *Mass. Senate Doc.*, 1870, no. 187, p. 3.)

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left missing.[1] This MS., being that of the second volume of his *History*, is now in the Archives of the State,[2] and bears marks in some parts of soaking in the dirty street.[3]

When Hutchinson deserted his house at Milton in 1774, he left his furniture in it. His letter-books had been brought to it from his town-house the previous year, at the season of the Tea-ship troubles, and disposed of "where he thought no person could find them;" and he adds: "When I left the province it did not occur to me where they were."[4] The day after Lexington the Committee of the Town of Milton removed the furniture, and put it in the keeping of Col. Wm. Taylor. This gentleman, going with Samuel Henshaw later to the house, discovered in a dark garret some trunks of papers, several of which were taken to Taylor's house, while Henshaw secured one of Hutchinson's letter-books. Word of this reaching Dr. Warren, the Committee of Safety directed Gen. Thomas, then commanding the nearest lines of the besieging army, to secure what he could of Hutchinson's papers.[5] He obtained what others were found in the house, and made a demand on Taylor for the trunks "suspected to contain papers."[6]

The papers thus seized were taken to Watertown, and committees were appointed to report upon them. Gordon says that one letter was suppressed because it afforded a rather awkward revelation of John Hancock's kind of patriotism; while, as Samuel Dexter says, others were carried off during the time that the papers were exposed to the inspection of everybody. Gordon, meanwhile, was directed (May 29) to receive one of the copy-books which a certain Capt. McLane, of Milton, was said to have, and others were appointed to discover what else might be "hid in or near Milton." In August, Samuel Dexter was empowered to hold such of the papers as he then had, and to receive all others; also to publish as he saw fit any among them; and Dr. Gordon was joined with him for that purpose, and Dexter's custody of them was confirmed by the legislature the next year (1776). He retained them during the war. In Oct., 1783, Samuel Dexter and William Gordon, and any others possessing such papers, were directed to give them up to be filed among the papers of the State.[7]

The State Archives now contain two collections of Hutchinson manuscripts: one lot which has never been out of the State's keeping since it acquired the governor's papers, which is called "Hutchinson's Correspondence," and is numbered 25, 26, and 27; and a lot which was a few years ago transferred to the State by the Massachusetts Historical Society, and is added to the archives as "Hutchinson Papers, 1625–1771," three volumes, numbered 240, 241, and 242 of the *Archives*. This last lot has been the subject of a prolonged controversy.[8]

There are also in the cabinet of the Historical Society, among the papers of Israel Williams of Hatfield, beside some letters of Governors Pownall and Barnard, a series from Hutchinson addressed to that stanch loyalist, and to Oliver Partridge, between 1748 and 1774. We note sundry other letters of Hutchinson, as of 1769 in the *Trumbull MSS.*, vol. ii.; of 1771–1772 from the Public Record Office in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xix. 129–140; of 1774–1777 in *Ibid.* v. 360.

[1] See Vol. III. 344.

[2] *Mass. Archives*, no. 28.

[3] Many of the papers making up the three volumes lately in the Mass. Hist. Soc. library are also so soiled, and this as well as their general character would indicate that they were of the material gathered for his *History*.

[4] P. O. Hutchinson, i. 502, 505.

[5] This order is among the *Thomas Papers* at Kingston.

[6] Thomas' letter, May 2, 1775, and Gordon in his *History*, — not exactly agreeing.

[7] The publication of Hutchinson's diary has revealed the governor's indignation at this enforced betrayal of his private records; but he seems to have no equivalent feelings in behalf of Thomas Cushing, when he learns that that gentleman's papers had been seized by Gage in Cushing's house in Boston, "which makes great discoveries." (P. O. Hutchinson's *Gov. Hutchinson*, i. 500, 557; ii. 9.) That editor speaks of the seized letters of Gov. Hutchinson as being "made such infamous use of by Bancroft in his so-called history" (*Ibid.* i. 395).

There are stories of the letter-books being discovered in sacks of beds among Hutchinson's effects, which were sold, and that £50 were paid to recover them (*Senate Doc. no. 187 of 1870*, pp. 28, 40).

[8] In 1821 Alden Bradford, then secretary of the commonwealth, in a report on the Archives, said that he had selected some of the Hutchinson Papers, which were judged "to be no part of the files in the secretary's office," and had (Jan., 1820) with the governor's approval deposited them in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The word used in one of his communications was "deposited," in all others "presented." Two years later that society made up and bound, in three volumes, a collection consisting of these papers (with others previously in its possession, as was claimed), making 466 folios, of which 170 were letters, none, however, in Hutchinson's hand, and all but eleven were dated before 1700.

Twenty years later (1841), when the State Archives were arranged, the Hutchinson Papers still left there were bound in four volumes; one containing the MS. of the first part of the second volume of his *History*, together with copies of certain witchcraft papers and a commission, and the other three volumes containing 1500 letters, most of them by Hutchinson, and all between 1761 and 1774. In Jan., 1846, John G. Palfrey, then secretary of the commonwealth, represented to the Historical Society that the three volumes bound up by the Historical Society were the necessary correlatives of the four volumes then in the Archives, — the whole constituting the indivisible property of the State. No reply being returned, the question was again raised by Mr. Palfrey in Jan., and once more in July, 1847 (*House Doc. no. 2 of 1848*). In 1849 a committee of the Historical Society reported that only such documents as Mr. Bradford had placed with them could possibly belong to the State, and that the statute of limitations would prevent any claim being made legally for these. In 1868, Gov. Bullock, by direction of the legislature (*Senate Doc. no. 279 of 1867*), again pressed the matter, and the result in 1871 was the appointment of a referee, Robert S. Rantoul. The society having agreed to surrender such papers as had come from the State, the award of the referee was that the three volumes contained no other papers, and they were accordingly surrendered. (*Mass. Senate Doc.*, no. 187 (1870); *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, ii. 333, 365, 373, 420, 436, 438; x. 118, 321; xi. 335; xii. 249; xiii. 130, 217.)

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Among the papers which are now in the possession of Hutchinson's representative in England, beside the correspondence which had accrued after the governor's expatriation, is his diary, beginning June 1, 1774;[1] an account of his life in New England; a series of original letters in bound volumes (beginning in 1741); a letter-book, beginning apparently in 1774; the domestic letters of the governor's son, Elisha Hutchinson, to his wife, while they were separated by the ocean, 1774–1777; Elisha's diary; books of instructions and other data, given to Governors Pownall and Bernard, — the one for Hutchinson is missing; the diary of Dr. Peter Oliver, son of the chief-justice; the letter-book of Lieut.-Gov. Andrew Oliver; a manuscript by the governor, entitled "The origin and progress of the American Rebellion to the year 1776, in a letter to a friend" (dated Mar. 1, 1781); the diary of Chief-Justice Peter Oliver, beginning upon the evacuation of Boston in March, 1776, and the letters of the same.

When the third volume of Hutchinson's history[2] was published by a descendant in 1828, in London, he indicated in a general way that there was a mass of family papers still unprinted which might in time be made use of;[3] and in *Notes and Queries* (vii. pp. 111, 240) Mr. P. Hutchinson makes record of the manuscripts left by the governor at his death in 1780. Upon them, as indicated above, the present custodian of the papers has based two volumes, the first of which appeared in London in 1883, and in Boston in 1884, as the *Diary and Letters of Thomas Hutchinson, with an account of his administration when he was member and speaker of the house of representatives* [*of Massachusetts*], *and his government of the colony during the difficult period that preceded the war of independence. Compiled from the original documents by Peter Orlando Hutchinson, one of his great-grandsons.*[4] The second volume appeared in 1886. The work has been welcomed by historical students for its helpful assistance in the study of the character of Hutchinson, while they have been annoyed at the garrulous, misinformed, and ill-assorted additions of the editor.[5]

The papers of Rufus King passed to his eldest son, John A. King; thence to Charles King, president of Columbia College, who had the intention of editing them. This purpose not being reached, the papers passed to Rufus King's grandson, their present owner, Mr. Charles R. King, of Andalusia, Penna., who informs me that the only use which has so far been made of them was by John C. Hamilton in his work on Alexander Hamilton, and that some letters from them have appeared in Lodge's *Life of George Cabot* and in Ellis's *Count Rumford*. The collection is not known to have been despoiled, though there are some gaps in important periods, and it is the completest during King's official residence in London as American minister. The papers in the main consist of letters, public and private, but they contain also essays on current questions, drafts of speeches, and personal statements respecting his public views. The editing of the papers is at present in progress for publication.

The papers of General Henry Knox, as preserved by him, were placed about 1840, on the recommendation of Jared Sparks, in the hands of Charles S. Davies, who undertook the preparation of a memoir of Knox; but being obliged by ill-health to abandon the work, the papers passed to Joseph Willard, who died before he, in turn, could perfect the work. Coming into the possession of Rear-Admiral Henry Knox Thatcher, a grandson of the general, the manuscripts were finally in 1873 presented to the N. E. Hist. Genealogical Society, and have since been bound and indexed, making a set of fifty-five large folio volumes, containing 11,464 papers in all. Sixty-six of these are Washington letters, some of which are deficient in signature; and probably many papers, particularly those of Washington, have in the past been given away or abstracted from the collection. These papers form the basis of the *Life and Correspondence of Henry Knox, by Francis S. Drake*, Boston, 1873,[6] who had also the use of the material which had been arranged by Mr. Willard.[7]

[1] This is said to have passed lately into the British Museum.

[2] Cf. P. O. Hutchinson, ii. 78, etc.; Barry's *Mass.*, ii. 258.

[3] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xx. 269. The family seem to have copies of Hutchinson's first and second volumes of his *History*, enriched with his corrections and annotations. (*Notes and Queries*, 2d ser., vii. 240.)

[4] He is the son of Andrew (born on shipboard in Boston harbor, Mar. 24, 1775), the son of Thomas, the son of the governor.

[5] Cf. Geo. E. Ellis in *Atlantic Monthly*, May, 1884. There are two known portraits of Gov. Hutchinson, and both are preserved in the gallery of the Massachusetts Historical Society. One is a half length, youthful in appearance, painted by Edward Truman (1741), and is thought to be the one left in his house at Milton, and later damaged by being run through the eyes by a rabid patriot. It has been restored, and is engraved in the *Mem. Hist. Boston*, ii. 68, and a photograph of it is given by P. O. Hutchinson (vol. i.). Cf. *Catal. Cab. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, no. 7; *Proceedings*, ii. 17. The other represents more mature life, and is of smaller size, showing the head and shoulders only. P. O. Hutchinson, who gives a photograph of it (vol. ii.), attributing it to Copley, is inclined to doubt its authenticity, because he does not see in it the Hutchinson characteristics of face and head (vol. i. p. 565). There is an engraving of it in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, i. 297 (with memoir by S. G. Drake); Drake's *Boston*, 700, 701; Dearborn's *Boston Notions*, 263. (Cf. *Catal. Cab. Hist. Soc.*, no. 8; Perkins's *Copley*, p. 76; *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, i. 101, 417.)

A paper by Col. Chester on the connection of the English and American Hutchinsons is in the *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, 1866, p. 355; 1868, p. 236.

[6] This memoir is abridged by the author in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1880, p. 35.

[7] Memoir of Joseph Willard in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, ix. 292. There are also a few of Knox's letters among the Tudor MSS. in the Mass. Hist. Society's cabinet, and others are in the library of the Maine Historical Society. Reminiscences of Knox by H. G. Otis are in the *New Eng. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1876. The best known likeness of Knox represents him at half length, leaning his left hand on a cannon in a way to hide two broken fingers of that hand. This has been engraved by J. F. E. Prud'homme and others, and there is a woodcut in the *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 95. This picture was painted by Stuart, and given by the family to the city of Boston, and was then placed in Faneuil Hall. It is now in the Boston

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The papers of Benjamin Lincoln were until lately preserved by his descendants in the Lincoln homestead at Hingham. A portion has been sold within a year or two at auction in Boston. What papers that general had with him, when he was surprised in 1777 in the Jerseys, were then lost.[1]

Of the Otis papers preserved in the cabinet of the Mass. Hist. Society, the second and third volumes cover the Revolutionary period and pertain to Col. James Otis, the father of the more famous patriot. The papers among them of the better known James Otis are not of great significance, but in the earliest part of the interval there are some letters of James Warren and others, with an occasional touch of the antipathies of the times; while there is something about the military service in the later papers of Brigadier Joseph Otis. Tudor in his *Life of James Otis*,[2] the patriot, simply tells us that his papers have perished.

John Adams said in 1817: "Mr. Otis, from 1760 to 1770, had correspondence in this province, in New England, in the Middle and Southern colonies, in England and in Scotland. What has become of these letters and answers?" Again he says that a daughter of Otis told him that "she had not a line from her father's pen; that he had spent much time and had taken great pains to collect together all his letters and other papers, and in one of his unhappy moments committed them all to the flames."[3]

The collection gathered by Francis Parkman has been described elsewhere.[4] It consists mainly of copies, and such portion as has already served him in his historical works has been placed by him in the Massachusetts Historical Society, except his collection of manuscript maps, which he joined to the collection in Harvard College library. Such portion as he still retains will ultimately be added to those in the Historical Society.

The papers of Col. Timothy Pickering descended to his son, Octavius Pickering, who wrote from them, mainly, his *Life of Timothy Pickering*, of which the first volume was published at Boston in 1867, bringing the story well beyond the close of the war. The author died in Oct., 1868, and subsequently the papers became the property of his son, Henry Pickering, and were committed to the Rev. Charles W. Upham, who published the three additional volumes constituting the completion of the *Life*.[5] In 1869 Mr. Henry Pickering signified his intention to carry out his father's wish in making his grandfather's papers over to the Mass. Historical Society, when Mr. Upham should have done with them,[6] and in 1874 they were received by that society, bound in sixty-eight volumes.[7]

Museum of Fine Arts (Mason's *Stuart*, 211). It has been copied at different times (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xv. p. 8). A photogravure of what is called the panel likeness of Knox is given in Mason's *Stuart*. Drake gives an engraving of a likeness by E. Savage. C. W. Peale's portrait of Knox was engraved by David Edwin. Cf. engravings in the *Impartial Hist. of the War* (Boston ed., ii. 218), a vignette, and the likeness given in the illustrated edition of Irving's *Washington*, and the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Sept., 1883, p. 174, and Aug., 1886, p. 123.

The mansion "Montpelier," which Knox built, after the war, at Thomaston, Maine, is pictured in *Scribner's Monthly*, ix. 616, and in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Aug., 1886, pp. 122, 125, etc., — the last accompanying a paper by E. Margaret Lindley. Cf. Miss Thatcher's *Seashore and Prairie*, and Williamson's *Belfast*. An account of the general's wife, Lucy Knox, is in Mrs. Ellet's *Women of the Rev.*, vol. i. and iii.

[1] Francis Bowen, who wrote the life of Lincoln for Sparks's *American Biography*, complains that Gordon in his *History* did not use these papers as much as he might have done. There are transcripts of some of them in the *Sparks MSS.*, no. 57. Cf. J. T. Kirkland's *Life of Lincoln* in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, xiii. 233 (1815); and *ante*, VI. 513.

[2] Lecky, iii. 331, calls this a remarkable book, from which he has derived much assistance. Francis Bowen, who furnished the life in Sparks's *Amer. Biog.*, used the papers which Sparks had gathered from the English Archives.

[3] *John Adams's Works*, x. 265, 277.

[4] *Ante*, Vols. IV. and V.

[5] Cf. G. E. Ellis's memoirs of Upham in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xv. 212.

[6] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1869, p. 162.

[7] The chief use that has been made of them since they became the property of the society has been by Lodge in his *Cabot*, and by Adams in his *N. E. Federalism*. They are said to be the largest mass of Federalist papers open to inquirers. C. W. Upham, in preface to vol. ii. of *Life of Timothy Pickering*, says that only a small portion of the sixty volumes of the Pickering papers belonging to the Mass. Hist. Society, and of the five volumes retained by the family, have been used by his biographers; adding that the press copies of his letters as Secretary of State are very much faded, and difficult in parts to decipher. The extent of Col. Pickering's papers which are not in the above enumeration exceeded those included; but of this surplus most had been retained by the family, though those relating to agriculture had been given to the Essex Agricultural Society, and others to the Essex Institute.

There is a letter-book (1781) of Col. Pickering preserved in the Pocomtuck Valley Museum at Deerfield, Mass. A considerable mass of his papers as quartermaster-general was described in the *N. Y. Tribune* at one time as being in the possession of the Hon. Arad Joy, of Ovid, N. Y. At a later day they were sold by his son, Professor Chas. A. Joy, to the War Department at Washington, but were lost sight of until a year or two since, when the attention of the Department of State being directed to them, they were found and transferred to the Archives of the latter Department. Mr. Worthington C. Ford describes it to me as "a very large collection, but much mutilated by loss and theft, and almost without arrangement." It contains numerous orderly-books.

At the very beginning of the war (July, 1775) Pickering drew up *Rules and Regulations of the Massachusetts*

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The papers of Com. Edward Preble are in the Mass. Hist. Society.[1]

The papers gathered by Thomas Prince, constituting a part of his library, are now on deposit in the Boston Public Library, and there is an enumeration of them in the appendix of the printed *Catalogue of the Prince Library* (Boston, 1870). They consist largely of papers gathered by the Mathers (1632–1689), and Hutchinson says that Prince took from the Mather library the most valuable portion of the papers in that library. They were printed, under the editing of Dr. Chandler Robbins, in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections*, vol. xxxviii. The Prince collection also contains the papers of the Rev. John Cotton (1632–1680); others called "Cotton and Prince Papers"; those of Thomas Hinckley, governor of Plymouth Colony (1676–1699), which have for the most part been printed in the *Mass. Hist. Collections*, xxxv., with other minor collections.

The papers of Gen. Rufus Putnam are at Marietta College.[2]

The letter-book of Edmund Quincy, the father-in-law of John Hancock, is among the Belknap Papers in the cabinet of the Massachusetts Historical Society.[3]

The papers of Josiah Quincy, Jr., were bequeathed by his grand-daughter, Eliza Susan Quincy, to the Mass. Hist. Soc. (*Proceedings*, 1884, p. 40). Except a few extracts given by Gordon, these papers had remained unpublished till his son — left an infant of three years, and in later life president of Harvard University — fifty years afterwards printed many of them in his *Life of Josiah Quincy, Jr.* (Boston, 1825), — a book to which Miss Quincy added an appendix in the edition of 1875.[4]

The diary and letter-books of Judge Samuel Sewall are owned by the Mass. Historical Society, and have been printed in their *Collections*, xlv., xlvi., xlvii., li., etc.[5]

Lodge in his *Cabot* makes use of the papers of Governor Strong.

The papers of General John Thomas are in the possession of his descendant, William Appleton Thomas, of Kingston, Mass., bound in two volumes. Some use of them has been made in a brief memoir, *The Life and Services of Maj.-Gen. John Thomas, by Charles Coffin* (New York, 1844). The first volume of the MSS. opens with his commission as surgeon in 1746, but in 1755 he left the medical staff and joined the line officers. Beside drafts of his own letters in Nova Scotia in 1755, there are others of General John Winslow at Grand Pré, and for the campaigns of 1759–60 there are various letters from Fort Edward, and others of Amherst and Timothy Ruggles. The Revolutionary papers cover the siege of Boston and the later part of the Canada expedition in 1776.[6]

The papers of Commodore Samuel Tucker are in Harvard College library, — log-books, instructions, letters, etc. They were used by Shepherd in his *Life of Samuel Tucker*, and are described in the appendix of Winsor's *Calendar of the Sparks Manuscripts*.

The papers of General Peleg Wadsworth are not known to exist. It is believed by his family that they were captured with him at Penobscot.

The papers of Samuel Waldo, relating to the French and Indian wars, are in the Mass. Historical Society.

The papers of Gen. James Warren and of his wife, Mrs. Mercy Warren, belong to Mr. Winslow Warren, of Dedham, who has kindly furnished the following particulars: There are 140 letters of John Adams to James and Mercy Warren, between 1773 and 1789, and scattered ones down to 1814, written from Braintree, Philadelphia, and Europe. There is one from Adams to Joseph Warren, which was received after the battle of Bunker Hill, and was delivered to James Warren as the successor of Joseph Warren in the chair of the Provincial Congress. Of this collection of Adams's letters, about twenty were printed by C. F. Adams; and the rest are thought to be unpublished. These 140 letters do not include those showing his part of the epistolary controversy with Mercy Warren, likewise in this collection. Thirty-six letters of Mrs. Adams to Mrs. Warren (1773–1811) are also preserved. From Samuel Adams, between 1771 and 1781, there are 86, — a few of which were printed by Frothingham in his *Rise of the Republic*, and others were used, not always carefully, by Wells. Those from Washington (9) are dated at Cambridge, Valley Forge, Morristown, and Mount Ver-

Army — Discipline for the Militia, and they were published at Salem and Cambridge (*Life of Pickering*, i. 85; Stevens's *Hist. Coll.*, no. 636; *Hist. Mag.*, i. 60; Thornton's *Pulpit*, 308).

The usual likeness of Pickering, by Stuart, representing him at a table, holding a pen, is engraved by H. W. Smith in the first volume of his *Life*, and is also in the *National Portrait Gallery* (1834). It was owned in 1880 by Miss Mary Pratt of Boston; another was owned by Mrs. Thomas Donaldson of Baltimore. His likeness is included among those in Independence Hall. There is a likeness by Lakeman (Aug., 1826) in the Essex Institute at Salem. Cf. the picture in J. C. Hamilton's *Life of Hamilton*, 1879 ed., vii. 176.

[1] Cf. *ante*, Vol. VII. 419.

[2] Cf. *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 709.

[3] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, iv. 12, 27, where two of the letters of March, 1776, are printed. Cf. for letters of 1775 *N. E. Hist. Geneal. Reg.*, xi. 165; xiii. 231.

[4] Some of Joseph Reed's letters to Quincy during the latter's stay in London are in Reed's *Life of Jos. Reed*, i. 85, etc. Cf. for his character, D. A. Goddard in *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 142; Greene's *Hist. View Amer. Rev.* 327; E. S. Quincy in *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, iii. 182; J. Davis in *No. Amer. Rev.*, xxii. 176. There is an engraving of a portrait of him in *Memorial Hist. Boston*, iii. 37.

[5] Cf. *ante*, Vol. V.

[6] There are numerous letters of Gen. Ward, several of Joseph Warren, Horatio Gates, Richard Devens, James Warren, Mercy Warren, Charles Lee, John Hancock, John Stark, Thomas Mifflin, J. M. Varnum, Richard Gridley, — all pertaining to the events around Boston. The letters of Washington at this period are mostly by the hands of his secretaries. Illustrating the campaign on the St. Lawrence and Sorel are letters of Philip Schuyler, Benedict Arnold, the Baron de Woedtke, beside others from the Commissioners of Congress, Charles Carroll and Samuel Chase.

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non, and are not published, as is also the case with five from Martha Washington. Other correspondents are John Dickinson (five, 1767–1806), Arthur Lee (fourteen), Elbridge Gerry (nine), James Otis (a single letter while in college), Hancock (addressed to Joseph Warren), Knox, Lincoln, Jefferson, R. H. Lee, John Glover, James Bowdoin, H. G. Otis, James Freeman, etc., — beside the domestic correspondence of Warren and his family, and the original MS. of Mercy Warren's *History*.

The papers of Joseph Warren were burned in a barn belonging to a kinsman in Greenfield, Mass., and his autograph letters are scarcer than those of most of his contemporaries. Some of them were discovered among the Sam. Adams papers in 1842, and there are several letters in the Gen. Thomas papers. A letter given in 1825, in fac-simile, in *The Life of Josiah Quincy, jr.*, was then thought to be the only one known.

Jos. Warren *

The papers of the Williams family, a prominent family in Western Massachusetts during the period of the French wars, are scattered. Those of Col. William Williams are in the Pittsfield Athenæum; a journal of Col. Joseph Williams, during the campaign of 1758, is in Harvard College library; and the papers of Col. Israel Williams are in the Mass. Hist. Society.[1]

For the earlier periods of New England and Massachusetts history, there is probably in private hands no manuscript collections to be compared for value with those in the possession of the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop

[1] *Ante*, V. 188.

* After a portrait owned by Winslow Warren, Esq., of Dedham. Cf. Perkins's *Copley*, p. 116.

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of Boston, where they have finally been gathered, and a large proportion of which, that for a long period were preserved in New London, Conn., were transferred to Boston in 1861. Some of them, which had descended to Mr. Winthrop through his father, were printed in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, xxix. and xxx. The publication from the general mass distinctively called *Winthrop Papers* has been thus far in five volumes: vols. i. and ii., 1628–1650 (*Collections Mass. Hist. Soc.*, xxxvi., xxxvii.); iii., being those in part used by the first John Winthrop in his *Hist. of New England* (*Collections*, xli.); iv., the letters of the second John Winthrop and his relatives to the close of the seventeenth century (*Collections*, xlviii.); and v., the papers of Fitz-John Winthrop, and other papers connected with him and Joseph Dudley (*Collections*, liii.). A sixth volume is to contain the papers of Wait Winthrop, and other volumes may follow.

The main body of the Winthrop papers, beside suffering the loss of those already mentioned as coming to the father of R. C. Winthrop, were also diminished at some time by those which were printed by James Savage in the appendix of his edition of John Winthrop's *New England*, and which are now in the cabinet of the Massachusetts Historical Society; and still further decreased by such as Governor Jonathan Trumbull was allowed to take from them, which now form a portion of the Trumbull papers, and are in part printed in the first volume of the *Trumbull Papers* (*Collections*, xlix.).

In addition to all these printed portions of the Winthrop papers other use has been made of the collections, as will be seen in the *Life and Letters of John Winthrop* (Boston, 1864, 1867); in the *Mather Papers* (*Collections*, xxxviii.); and in many parts of the *Proceedings of the Mass. Hist. Soc.*, where they have from time to time been communicated by R. C. Winthrop, father and son, in smaller groups, the latest of which being various papers by the Sylvesters of Shelter Island (*Proc.*, Feb., 1889). An account of the manuscript given in the preface and appendix of *Winthrop Papers*, vol. v., says: "Nearly everything of any historical value down to the death of Governor Winthrop the elder, in 1649, has already appeared, and there is very little worth printing of a later date than 1750; but the manuscripts of the intervening century still exhibit a mass of original material, much of it only partially examined, which cannot fail to repay future study."

After the death of Gov. Joseph Dudley in 1720, a part of his papers passed into the possession of his daughter, Mrs. John Winthrop, and so got engulfed in the Winthrop papers; and these Dudley papers include some letters of Lord Cutts, the friend and patron of Dudley, which were printed in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 2d series, ii. 171–198.

Among the minor collections of Revolutionary papers in the cabinet of the Mass. Hist. Society are: some of those of Artemas Ward, 1775–1776; a miscellaneous collection formed by the Rev. Dr. Charles Lowell; those of Oxenbridge Thacher;[1] the Boston Port Bill letter-books, 1774–76; and sundry other papers in collections lettered "Miscellaneous Papers, vol. v., 1761–1776;" "Miscellaneous Papers, 1632–1795;" "Miscellaneous Papers, vol. i., 1777–1780;" "Papers of Cotton Mather and others, 1702–1792;"[2] the papers of Nathaniel Appleton, the commissioner for Massachusetts of the Continental Loan Office, 1778, etc.

The cabinet of the Mass. Historical Society contains some other earlier collections of papers; but no good list has as yet been printed. A tentative list is given in their *Proceedings*, x. 158. Chief among such collections may be named: the Holmes papers, mainly relating to the ecclesiastical history of New England, 1726–1825; the Andrews and Eliot letters, 1720–1810; the Wallcut Papers, 1678–1840; those collected by Jeremy Belknap, 1660–1776, and another collection, 1637–1799 (cf. *Proc.*, x. 323); Winslow papers, 1737–1775; Colman letters, 1697–1747; Pepperrell papers, mostly of 1745–1746; Col. Israel Williams papers, 1730–1780, — not to name others; beside various miscellaneous collections.

There are various orderly-books in the library of the American Antiquarian Society, a list of which, prepared by Mr. Nathaniel Paine, has been printed in the *Proceedings*[3] of that society.

There seem to be no papers preserved in the western parts of the State.[4]

Of the period later than that of the active Federalists, the most conspicuous use has been made of the papers of Daniel Webster. Such as the literary executors did not deem useful for their purpose finally passed from Peter Harvey to the New Hampshire Historical Society, where they now are. The reserved portion was used by Geo. Ticknor Curtis in his *Life of Webster*, and after that, excepting such portion as passed to Charles P. Greenough of Boston, the collection was burned in New York.

The papers of Edward Everett are in the hands of Dr. William Everett, of Quincy.

[1] Given by Miss Quincy in 1882, who supposes them to have come to Josiah Quincy, Jr., in 1765, when Mr. Thacher died, and was succeeded in his law business by Mr. Quincy. A few of them are printed in the society's *Proceedings*, xx. 46, etc.

[2] This collection contains many of the letters of the Committees of Correspondence of Boston and other Massachusetts towns.

[3] New series, vol. i. pp. 163–165.

[4] Professor A. L. Perry, of Williamstown, writes to me: "The papers of Joseph Hawley, if they had been preserved, would have been invaluable; but I believe them to have been mostly scattered long ago, for a descendant of his gave me several stray pieces of no great consequence twenty years since. Not even the papers of Col. John Stoddard were cared for or kept together. Another thing that makes this end of the State barren is the fact that nearly all the great men — the quondam leaders — were tories, such as Israel Williams, John Worthington, William Williams of Pittsfield. Col. Benjamin Simonds, of Williamstown, was the military leader in Berkshire throughout the Revolution. He was colonel of the sole regiment till 1777, and colonel of the northern regiment till 1781. He commanded the Massachusetts men at Bennington, and the Berkshire men at White Plains."

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NEW HAMPSHIRE. — The New Hampshire Historical Society has of late been procuring copies and calendars of papers from the English Public Record Office, illustrating early New Hampshire history. Mr. John Scribner Jenness caused at one time certain transcripts, relating to early New Hampshire history, to be made from the documents in the Public Record Office, and printed them as *Transcripts of Original Documents in the English Archives relating to New Hampshire* (N. Y., 1876). The book was privately printed, and soon became scarce; and the papers covered the dates 1629–1723. They have of late been reprinted in the *New Hampshire State Papers*, vol. xvii.

The archives of the province were partly burned in 1736; but the State has printed the essential part of its remaining records in its *Provincial Papers*, which reach the Revolutionary period in vol. vii.: *Documents and Records relating to the Province of New Hampshire from 1764 to 1776*,[1] covering the administration of John Wentworth, the last royal governor,[2] the correspondence of New Hampshire with the other colonies in organizing the methods of the Revolution,[3] and the journals of the early provincial Congresses.[4] The next volume (viii.) of the series is denominated *State Papers, 1776–1783*.[5] A volume (ix.) is given to the papers relating to *Towns, 1638–1784*, covering necessarily the local agitations of the Revolution; and then the last, edited by Bouton (vol. x.), gathers up omissions and papers on certain definite subjects, and is called *Provincial and State Papers, 1749–1792*. It includes much on the great controversy of the New Hampshire Grants, 1749–1791;[6] goes over the period of the British attempts to alienate the people of Vermont; gives a brief history of the controversy by Dr. Belknap (pp. 221–228); and finally it presents the letters and orders of the New-Hampshire Committee of Safety, 1779–1784 (pp. 501–620). The New Hampshire Historical Society has the MS. records of conventions of the New England States, held at Providence in 1776, at New Haven in 1778, and at Boston in 1780. They are printed in the *New Hampshire Hist. Soc. Collections*, vol. ix. They print in the same volume the orderly-books of Capt. Daniel Livermore's company, West Point, 1780; and of Adjutant Sylvanus Reed, Rhode Island campaign, 1779.

A supplementary series of *Town Papers, Collection of 1880*, makes the next three volumes (xi., xii., and xiii.). These were edited by I. W. Hammond between 1882 and 1884, based on twelve MS. volumes in the Archives, so denominated. A further collection was at the same time arranged from the manuscripts, called *Indian and French Wars, and Revolutionary Papers, Collection of 1880*, extracts from which are printed in vols. xi., xii., and xiii. The *Rolls of the Soldiers in the Revolutionary War, 1775 to May, 1777* (1885),[7] which has a few French and Indian war-rolls prefixed (29 pp.), are printed in vol. xiv., and later ones in vols. xv., xvi., and xvii. (1886–1888), also edited by Mr. Hammond. Vol. xvi. has also pension lists, paid prior to 1790. Vol. xvii. contains the Revolutionary war papers of Col. Timothy Bedel; others from the collection of Mrs. Harry Hibbard; others on Sullivan's Staten Island expedition, 1777; papers from the English Archives, 1629–1686, and from the State Archives, 1675–1725, — which last series will be continued to 1800 in vol. xviii., now in press.[8]

Chas. H. Bell has set forth in an address the part taken by the State in the Revolution.[9]

The local histories and a few biographies touch the war in its influences upon the life of the people, — as in Cochrane's *Antrim;* J. W. Jewett's *Barnstead* (p. 104); Edward D. Boylston's *Hillsborough County Congresses at Amherst (N. H.), 1774 & 1775, with other revolutionary records* (Amherst, N. H., 1884); Worcester's *Hollis* (ch. xii., etc.); C. A. Bemis's *Marlboro* (ch. iii.); Gould and Kidder's *New Ipswich;* Grant Powers' *Coos Country, 1754–1785;* Cogswell's *Nottingham, etc.;* A. Smith's *Peterborough;* Brewster's *Portsmouth;* Wm. Bassett's *Richmond;* Stearns's *Rindge;* Runnel's *Sanbornton;* H. A. Blood's *Temple;* a *Hist. of Washington, N. H., 1768–1886* (Claremont, 1886); Morrison's *Windham* (ch. vi.), etc.

Beside the biographical memoirs later to be mentioned, there are reminiscences of the Revolution in C. R. Corning's *John Fenton* (Concord, N. H., 1886) and Mary P. Thompson's *Memoir of Judge Ebenezer Thompson of Durham, N. H.* (Concord, 1886, — privately printed).

The principal MS. collections of New Hampshire men are as follows: —

The correspondence of Josiah Bartlett is much scattered, and is found in various collections of papers.[10]

Among the manuscripts collected by Dr. Belknap in New Hampshire, and constituting a portion of the third volume of one of the sets of Belknap papers in the Massachusetts Hist. Society's cabinet, are various papers of the times of the Stamp Act commotion and some of the correspondence of the Sons of Liberty.

[1] Ed. by Nath. Bouton (Nashua, 1873). See *ante*, Vol. V. p. 166.

[2] The autographs of the royal governors are given on pp. 396–398.

[3] Pp. 250, 329, 353, 381, 456, 475, 488, 498, 512.

[4] Pp. 407, 442, 452, 468, etc. The journal of the first Congress is also printed in the *Hist. Mag*, xiv. 145. There is a volume of selections from the Revolutionary papers in the office of the secretary of state of New Hampshire, in the *Sparks MSS.*, no. xxxv.

[5] Ed. by Bouton (Concord, 1874).

[6] See further, Vol. V p. 178.

[7] In the *Hist. Mag.*, xiv. 145, there is a list of the officers of the N. H. regiments during the war. Frederick Kidder published a history of *The First New Hampshire Regiment in the Revolution* (Albany, 1868).

[8] Letter of I. W. Hammond, June, 1889.

[9] *Hist. Mag.*, Oct., 1868. Cf. *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1870, p. 354, and a paper by E. H. Derby in *Ibid.*, 1877, p. 34.

[10] A few of his letters, 1776–1778, are in the *Hist. Mag*, vi. 73. A small portion of his papers is preserved in the library of the "Northern Academy of Arts and Sciences" at Hanover, N. H. A statue of Bartlett was unveiled at Amesbury, Mass., July 4, 1888, with an oration by Robert T. Davis. Cf. *Presentation of the Bartlett Statue by Jacob R. Huntington* (Newburyport, 1888).

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The correspondence of Jeremy Belknap and Eben Hazard, the one mainly in Dover, N. H., and the other in Philadelphia, begins in Jan., 1779, and goes through the war, — as printed in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, xlii.

The papers of Jonathan Chase of Cornish, a militia colonel, who was at Saratoga, relate to his regiment's service, and contain a few letters from Generals Gates, Morey, Bedel, etc. Some of them have been printed in *Town Papers*, xi., xii., xiii., and in the *Revolutionary War Rolls*, vol. xvii.

The Belknap papers (Mass. Hist. Soc.) also contain many other documents relating to New Hampshire,[1] including letters of Richard Waldron (b. 1650, d. 1730) and of Lieut.-Gov. John Usher. A volume of Belknap Papers in the *N. H. Hist. Soc.* contains some correspondence of Governors Wentworth and Shirley.

When Sparks, in 1831, caused copies to be made of some of the papers (1774–1783) of John Langdon, the originals were then in the possession of Langdon's daughter, Mrs. Elwyn of Philadelphia;[2] and later they were in the hands of Dr. A. L. Elwyn of Philadelphia, who, reserving what he considered the most important, gave the rest to the Pennsylvania Historical Society. These last consist of building accounts of vessels ordered by Congress, drafts of speeches, and a few letters, beside other miscellaneous documents. They also include some of the papers of William Whipple, which apparently fell into Langdon's hands, including drafts of his letters and a letter-book, 1781–1784. Since Dr. Elwyn's death they have been in the charge of the Rev. Alfred Langdon Elwyn.

A portrait and some of the letters of Alexander Scammell are given in the *Mag. of Amer. History*, Aug., 1883.

I find no record of the papers of Nathaniel Peabody,[3] but an important paper, of which, with Philip Schuyler and John Matthews, he is the signer, has been recently found in the New Hampshire Historical Society. It is the proceedings of the committee appointed by Congress, April 13, 1780, to visit headquarters, with their report and correspondence with general officers.[4]

The General Sullivan papers are now in the keeping of Thomas C. Amory of Boston, but are eventually to become the property of the N. H. Historical Society. When Sparks, in 1827, made his copies (*Sparks MSS.*, no. xx.), they were in the possession of Sullivan's grandson, Dr. Steele of Durham, and were later on deposit in the Portsmouth Athenæum. There are scattered letters of Sullivan in the *Trumbull Papers* (vol. iv., etc.); others in the papers of Meschech Weare in the Mass. Hist. Soc. cabinet; and copies of others from the New Hampshire Archives are in the *Sparks MSS.* (xxxv.)

There are a good many of the papers of Meschech Weare in the cabinet of the Mass. Hist. Society. One of the lots contains the letters, mostly original, of Jay, Sullivan, Steuben, and others, addressed to Weare, between 1779 and 1782. Two other volumes, *Letters and Papers, 1777–1824*, are in large part made up of his papers, including much illustrating the campaign of 1778 in Rhode Island.[5] Other letters of Weare are among the *Trumbull MSS.*

The *Proceedings of the N. Y. Hist. Soc.* (1848, p. 41) show that Mr. Jacob B. Moore, sen., then librarian of that society, deposited with it the correspondence and papers of Meschech Weare, in ten folio volumes, covering the period 1680 to 1786, and accompanied by a chronological index. They are now in the possession of George H. Moore and Frank Moore of New York, or were recently.

The correspondence of Gov. Wentworth, 1767–1778, is preserved in the Nova Scotia Archives,[6] the governor having been at a later day the executive of that province, and a transcript of his letter-book has been made for the office of the secretary of state at Concord.[7]

There are in the *Sparks MSS.* (no. xliii., vol. i.) copies made in 1840 at the State Paper Office of the correspondence of the royal governors of New Hampshire and the home government (1765–1774), and (vol. iv.) the correspondence of Gov. Wentworth with the Board of Trade, and minutes of the Board (1767).

The correspondence of Secretary Waldron and Gov. Jonathan Belcher (1731–40) is in the N. H. Hist. Society.

Copies of some of Stark's papers, made in 1827, are among the *Sparks MSS.* (no. xxxix.; others in xxxv.)

Various letters of Eleazer Wheelock, of Dartmouth College, are scattered through the *Trumbull Papers* (vol. iii., in 1771, etc.), and a considerable collection of his papers is in the possession of the college, secured in part through the interposition of Judge Mellen Chamberlain.

A part of William Whipple's papers seem to have passed into the hands of John Langdon, as already mentioned. Some of his letters are given in Lee's *Life of R. H. Lee* (vol. ii. p. 111, etc.), and others (1776) are in the *Sparks MSS.* (no. xlvii.). No considerable mass of Whipple's papers are known to exist.

What is left of the papers of Col. Timothy Bedel is in the library of the New Hampshire Historical Society,

[1] *Ante*, V. 166.

[2] Sparks MSS., lii., vol. ii. There was published in Philadelphia, in 1880, *Letters by Washington, Adams, Jefferson, and others, written during and after the Revolution to John Langdon, New Hampshire*. This volume was edited by Dr. Alfred Langdon Elwyn, but the volume has neither contents, introduction, nor index, and it is said that some of the most important papers were not included. There is a portrait of Langdon at present hanging in Independence Hall.

[3] Some of his correspondence is printed in the *N. H. State Papers*, xvii., as mentioned later.

[4] It is a MS. volume of 354 pages, and it is attested by Col. Abraham Brasher, secretary of the committee.

[5] Letters of Washington to Weare are printed in the *N. H. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, ii. 150–194.

[6] T. B. Akins's *List of MS. Docs. in the Government Offices at Halifax* (1886), p. 9.

[7] Steps have been taken to supplement them by copies of other papers in the Public Record Office in London.

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and they have been printed in the *N. H. State Papers*, xvii. With the same society were also at one time the papers of Nathaniel Peabody, but they have disappeared, and except that the society published some of them they have left no trace. Some found a few years ago in a junk shop were acquired by the State, and are printed in *N. H. State Papers*, xvii. p. 386. The *Life of William Plumer*[1] is said not to have made full use of Plumer's MS. autobiography, which is in existence. It is not known that the papers of Matthew Thornton exist.[2] A very few of the papers of Judge Thompson are preserved at Durham by a descendant.[3] Those of Paine Wingate have been scattered.

VERMONT. — The principal Revolutionary interest in Vermont, irrespective of the fight at Bennington, is the intermittent controversy between the people of the New Hampshire grants and New York (see Vol. V. p. 179), and the attempts of the British, through their Canadian commander, to alienate the people of the grants from the patriot cause.

The Haldimand papers[4] illustrate the negotiations which extended from Jan. 11, 1779, to March 25, 1783. (See the *Vermont Hist. Soc. Collections*, ii. 59–366.) There are copies of Beverly Robinson's and Ethan Allen's correspondence (1780–81) in the *Sparks MSS.* (lii., vol. ii.), of the correspondence of Clinton and Haldimand (1779, etc.) in *Ibid.* (xiv.), and other papers on the subject, copied from the MSS. in the Royal Institution, during 1780–82, in *Ibid.* (no. lxx.) There are scattered letters of Ethan Allen among the *Trumbull Papers* (vol. iv.).

The printed records of Vermont for this period are the *Records of the Council of Safety and Governor and Council;*[5] and the *Vermont State Papers; being a collection of records and documents, connected with the assumption and establishment of government by the people of Vermont; with the Journal of the Council of Safety, the first constitution, the early journals of the general assembly, and the laws from 1779 to 1786, inclusive. Added, the proceedings of the first and second councils of censors. Compiled and published by William Slade, jun., secretary of state* (Middlebury, 1823).

The papers collected by Henry Stevens, sen., first president of the Vermont Historical Society, and covering the history of that State from about 1758 to 1846, were bought by the State of New York in 1875, and are as yet unarranged; but Mr. Fernow informs me that they include papers of Ethan and Ira Allen, with other papers showing the commissary details of the Northern army.

RHODE ISLAND. — The records of the Revolutionary period in the office of the secretary of state include, beside the general records, those of the Council of War (1776–1781), various military returns, the journals of the Senate and the House, documents relating to the destruction of the "Gaspee" (one volume), petitions and papers of letters of marque (1776–1780), orders of the King in Council (1734–1783), and numerous miscellaneous documents.[6] The Carter-Brown library possesses transcripts of papers, relating to Rhode Island, in the British Archives (1636–1769), in ten volumes, the latter part of which refer to the beginning of the Revolutionary troubles,[7] and many of these papers have been printed in the *Rhode Island Colonial Records*, of which the sixth and later volumes refer to the Revolutionary period.[8] The *Sparks MSS.* (no. lix.) contain papers selected in the Public Offices of the State.

The documents in the case of Torrey *v.* Gardner respecting the Narragansett lands (1734) are in the Prince library, and they are enumerated in the appendix of the *Catalogue* of that collection (p. 157).

There are also in the *Sparks MSS.* (xliii., vol. iii.) copies of the official correspondence of the authorities of Rhode Island with the home government (1763–1776).

Various letters of Gov. William Greene are in the *Trumbull MSS.*, and others are in the Gov. Ward papers.

[1] *Ante*, VII. 320.

[2] *Letter of Chas. H. Bell, Aug. 27, 1886.*

[3] Letter of Miss Mary P. Thompson.

[4] The Haldimand papers in the British Museum are indexed in the *Additions to the MSS. in the Brit. Mus., 1854–1875* (London, 1880), under such heads as Allen (Ethan) and Vermont. A *Calendar of the Haldimand Papers* is now publishing by the Dominion Archivist at Ottawa. See description on a later page.

[5] Vol. i., 1775–1779 (1873); vol. ii., 1779–1782 (1874).

[6] John R. Bartlett's *Bibliog. of Rhode Island* (1864), p. 246. This list shows about 1000 titles. The collection of Rhode Island books formed by S. S. Rider of Providence (1885) is said to show 3000 titles of bound volumes, and 15,000 of pamphlets. Cf. an *Index to the printed acts and resolves of, and of the petitions and reports to, the General assembly of the state of Rhode Island and Providence plantations, 1758 to 1862. By John Russell Bartlett* (Providence, 1856–63).

[7] Bartlett's *Bibliog. of R. I.*, p. 249.

[8] See Vol. V. p. 166. Other papers are given in Cowell's *Spirit of '76 in R. I.* Arnold, *Hist. of R. I.*, ii. 376, refers to the papers in the secretary's office. He speaks of the Records of Portsmouth, the town forming the most northerly part of the island of Rhode Island, as the most complete and best preserved records in the State; but he says there is a gap in them from Dec., 1776, to Nov., 1779 (Arnold, ii. 389). The town histories of Rhode Island, except those of Providence and Newport, have not much upon the Revolutionary times beyond such local aspects as are presented, for example, in Frederick Denison's *Westerly and its witnesses, 1627–1876* (Providence, 1878, ch. 15). Number Ten of the *R. I. Hist. Tracts* is an *Historical Inquiry concerning the attempt to raise a regiment of slaves by Rhode Island during the war of the Revolution, by S. S. Rider* (Providence, 1880); other numbers of this series are mentioned elsewhere. Cf. Staples' *Rhode Island in the Continental Congress*, which was edited by Reuben Aldrich Guild (Providence, 1870). James N. Arnold's paper on the "Causes of the popularity of the Revolution in Rhode Island" is in the *Narragansett Hist. Register*, iv. 81.

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The papers of Gov. Henry Bull are owned by Henry Bull of Newport.

Many of the papers of Samuel Ward, governor of Rhode Island (1762–63 and 1765–67) are preserved. His official letters were given to the State by a descendant, and are printed in the *R. I. Colonial Records*. His descendant, Mr. John Ward of New York city, possesses his diary during the Continental Congress of 1774 and 1775–76, which has been printed in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, i. pp. 438, 503, 549, 696; and the letters written during this period down to his death, Mar. 26, 1776. These letters have been used by the late Professor Gammell in his *Life of Samuel Ward*, and in a paper by their present owner, called "The Continental Congress before the Declaration of Independence," published in the *N. Y. Geneal. and Biographical Record*, Apr., 1878. (Cf. also *Ibid.*, Apr., 1877.) There are copies of some of the Gov. Samuel Ward papers in the *Sparks MSS.* (no. xxv.)

The papers collected by S. G. Arnold (R. I.) are owned (those bound) by the John Carter-Brown library, and (unbound) by Mrs. S. G. Arnold of New York city.

The papers gathered by Isaac Backus are in the Rhode Island Hist. Society.

The Carter-Brown library, so rich in printed sources, is not particularly well equipped with manuscripts. The most conspicuous manuscripts are the original of Champlain's West India voyage, elsewhere referred to (*ante*, ch. v.; and Vol. IV. p. 133), and an Italian portolano of the sixteenth century, the only example, so far as I know, of such an early cartographical record preserved in America. It is an atlas on vellum, containing 28 leaves of maps in colors heightened with gold, of which five show the American continent; but they represent two opposed sets of the cartographical views prevailing at that time, one making North America adjoined to Asia, and the other showing it distinct from the older continent. It is described in Quaritch's *Catalogue, Hist. and Geog.* (1885), no. 28,159, and by Mr. Winsor in the *Amer. Hist. Asso. Papers* (i. 438).

Prof. Edw. T. Channing in his *Life of William Ellery* in Sparks's *Amer. Biography*, vol. vi. p. 128, says that Ellery's friends destroyed all his letters at his own request, but that "it was not known how the letter-books and journals used in this [Channing's] memoir escaped." Col. T. W. Higginson printed a journal of a journey to attend Congress in 1777–1778 in *Scribner's Monthly*, Jan., 1880.[1] It is understood that a mass of his papers descended to his youngest son, Wanton Ellery, from whom they passed to the grand-daughters of the patriot, the Misses Ellery of Newport. Some Ellery papers were in the possession of the late James Eddy Mauran of Newport; and others of a later day were given by Mr. Mauran to the Rhode Island Historical Society.

The most considerable collections of Revolutionary papers gathered by a Rhode Island officer are those of General Nathanael Greene. Caldwell, in the preface of his *Life of Greene*, in 1819, says of Greene's papers: "No inconsiderable portion of the materials necessary to complete his biography has been lost through the negligence of those to whom they were entrusted. In various parts of the country individuals are known to have been in possession of volumes of his official letters, but on strictest inquiry few of these documents are now found."

The statement made by William Johnson in his *Sketches of the Life and Correspondence of General Greene* (Charleston, 1822) is that Mrs. Shaw, Greene's youngest daughter and administratrix, delivered to him the private correspondence of the general, which had at that time never been examined,[2] and requested C. C. Pinckney, who then had in his charge the official papers of the Southern campaign, to deliver them to him. These last papers had been committed on the disbanding of the army to Major Edward Rutledge, whence they passed successively to his son, Henry Rutledge, and to General Pinckney. Johnson found them well preserved and well arranged, and says that Greene had been induced to preserve everything carefully, out of respect for a wish of Joseph Reed that the latter might have material for writing a history of the Revolution, which he then looked forward to doing. He also says that in addition to these papers he had access to "the private cabinets of Greene's friends," and was assisted by Pendleton, later Judge Pendleton, who had been a member of the general's military family. Greene's grandson, Professor George W. Greene, prepared in 1846, from the common printed authorities and at the request of Sparks, the *Life of Nathanael Greene*, which is included in Sparks's *American Biography*.[3] Later, Professor Greene received the family papers, amounting to over 6,000 documents, and began the preparation of the much more elaborate *Life of Nathanael Greene* which, in three volumes, was published in New York in 1867–71. He printed many of the letters entire and large extracts from others in his first two volumes; but in his last volume, which begins with the opening of Greene's great campaign in the south, he is much more sparing of the use of the papers in so extended a way. The efforts which have been made to induce Congress to buy the Greene papers have failed. They are said to be at present in the possession of Mrs. P. M. Nightingale of Brunswick, Georgia. There are some letters of Greene among the Ward papers.

[1] Higginson's *Travellers and Outlaws* (Boston, 1889), and *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, July, 1888.

[2] Ramsay took notes from Greene's papers, but carried no manuscripts away. *Hist. Mag.*, xiii. 26.

[3] Second series, vol. x.

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The papers of Stephen Hopkins were swept, in Sept., 1815, from the house where they were deposited, by a tide, raised by a great gale.[1]

The original papers in the Hopkins and Ward case are in the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester.

The letters and diaries of James Manning, covering the Revolutionary period, are in the library of Brown University, and have been used by Reuben A. Guild in his *Life, Times and Correspondence of James Manning, 1738–1790* (Boston, 1864). In the same library are the papers of Hezekiah Smith, a chaplain in the Revolutionary army, which have been used by Dr. Guild in his *Life, journals, letters and addresses of the Rev. Hezekiah Smith, D. D., of Haverhill, Mass., 1737–1805* (Philad., 1885).

A body of correspondence of the Revolution (1775–1782), from papers in the Rhode Island Historical Society, is printed in their *Collections*, vol. vi. (1867).[2]

CONNECTICUT. — A statement of the condition of the *Archives* of the State in 1849 is given in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1849, p. 167. At that time, about 50,000 papers before 1790 had been bound in 138 volumes and indexed.[3] The printing of the *Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut*, ordinarily referred to as *Colonial Records*, has as yet proceeded no further than 1775. Of the series, vol. xii. (1762–1767), published in 1881, vol. xiii. (1768–1772), published in 1885, and vol. xiv. (1772–1775), are the last printed. The volumes are edited by Charles J. Hoadly. The State has also printed a *Roll of state officers and members of the General Assembly of Connecticut from 1776 to 1881* (Hartford, 1881).[4] Some of the Continental rolls of the State are in the War Department at Washington, but the State has taken steps to have copies made. There is in the first vol. of the Trumbull Papers (MSS., no. 138) a statement of the Connecticut troops in the service of the United States in 1782. A roll of the officers and men who served from Connecticut is in preparation for publication, under the charge of the adjutant-general of the State.

There are in the *Sparks MSS.* (xliii., vol. iii.) copies of the official correspondence of the home government with the authorities of Connecticut (1763–1776).

A special book, *A Historical Collection of the part sustained by Connecticut during the War of the Revolution, by Royal H. Hinman* (Hartford, 1842), is an accumulation unskilfully arranged, and it includes (p. 159) an epitome of the legislation in Connecticut touching the Revolution, and (p. 325) the acts of the governor and Council of Safety, June 7, 1775, to May 6, 1778.

A *Report of the Secretary of State and State Librarian on the Ancient Court Records* (Hartford, 1889) has recently been made to the General Assembly. The following facts are from it: The legislative records from April, 1636, to April, 1775, have been printed. Those of the State, still in MS., begin in 1776. The records of the Particular Court are succeeded by the county courts in 1666. They include Probate Records. The records of the Court of Assistants begin in 1669 and end in 1715; those of the Superior Court cover 1711–1798. A separate statement is made regarding the courts in Andros's time, with other accounts of those of the counties. The records of the New Haven jurisdiction between 1644 and 1653 have disappeared, and one volume remains of later records, which were printed in 1858. The records of the Plantation of New Haven, 1639–1649, etc., were printed in 1857; a continuation to 1662 exists in MS., followed by the town records, 1662–1678.

[1] Stone's *Life and Recollections of John Howland*, p. 47. Foster in his *Stephen Hopkins*, app. B, beside enumerating such of Hopkins' letters and papers as are preserved in print, adds a list of those unpublished which he succeeded in finding.

[2] *Revolutionary correspondence from 1775 to 1782, comprising letters written by Governors Nicholas Cooke, William Greene, John Collins, Jonathan Trumbull, Generals Washington, Greene, Sullivan, and others.*

In the Rhode Island Historical Society's library there are the following Revolutionary papers: —

The MSS. of Gov. Nicholas Cooke, governor of Rhode Island, 1775–1778, in two bound volumes, the second of which is "Revolutionary Correspondence, 1775–1781." Other letters of Cooke are in the *Trumbull MSS.*

The MSS. of Theodore Foster, secretary of the Rhode Island Council of War, 1776–1781, in sixteen volumes, and letters to him in two volumes, a large portion of which belong to the same period.

The MSS. of Commodore Esek Hopkins, in three vols.

The MSS. of Moses Brown, a prominent Rhode Island Quaker, in fourteen volumes, the papers of 1770–1792 being in vols. ii. to vii.; beside miscellaneous material in three volumes.

Capt. Stephen Olney's "Account of a portion of the war."

Col. Christopher Lippitt's "Autobiographical sketch."

Much Revolutionary material can also be found in "Military Papers" (4 vols.); "Rhode Island Manuscripts" (10 vols., — particularly the last volume); "Providence Papers," 1643–1793 (1 vol.); "Miscellaneous Manuscripts" (1 vol.); "Miscellaneous Papers" (6 vols.); papers of Jabez Bowen, a leader in Providence; the diary, etc., of Chaplain Enos Hitchcock, and Col. Ephraim Bowen's account of the burning of the "Gaspee."

The papers of Gen. James Mitchell Varnum are not known, and I am informed by his grandnephew, Mr. John M. Varnum of Cambridge, that he knows of only a few fragments of them. The only memoir of him is by Wilkins Updike in *Memoirs of the Bar of R. I.* (1842), which is condensed in Hildreth's *Pioneer Settlers of Ohio.* The papers of Gen. Joseph B. Varnum, a brother of James M. Varnum, are in the keeping of Mr. John M. Varnum, and contain correspondence with John Adams, Gideon Granger, and George Thatcher. An autobiography of Joseph B. Varnum is printed in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Nov., 1888.

Mr. S. S. Rider has in his MSS. collections some of the papers of Gov. Benedict Arnold, the pension memoranda of General Nathan Miller, miscellaneous papers of Theodore Foster, orderly-book of Col. Daniel Hitchcock, the papers of Henry Marchant, and other documents of the Revolution. The papers of John Howland, a revolutionary soldier (cf. *Life and Times of John Howland*), belong to R. P. Everett; and those of Thomas Vernon are in the Newport Historical Society.

[3] Cf. *ante*, V. p. 166.

[4] It has engravings showing the five different state-houses at New Haven and Hartford since 1719.

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"Beside the regular records of the General Assembly," says Mr. Hoadly, "which are unbroken, and those of the Council of Safety [at present in the State Library], there are in the State Library thirty-eight volumes of Revolutionary archives in manuscript; but most of the papers possess limited interest, the most valuable of the documents belonging to our archives being among the so-called Trumbull Papers in the Massachusetts Historical Society."

The great bulk of the Trumbull Papers, thus referred to, belong to the period of the Revolution, and were accumulated in Governor Trumbull's hands because of his official station, and in these days, when the opinions respecting the right to public papers are more sharply defined than they were formerly, would unquestionably be held to be the property of the office, and not of its incumbent. They were offered to the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1794, shortly after its formation, apparently because the establishment of such a society created fit custodians of such papers, and presumably because, at that time, it occurred to no one that the public offices of Connecticut would be a fitter place for them, since it was customary for public offices then to pay little attention to the preservation of records. The offer came from David Trumbull, son of the governor, and in the name of the heirs, and as carrying out the intention of Governor Trumbull to deposit them "in some public library." The offer was accepted, and the papers were received in loose bundles, late in 1795.[1]

In 1845 the State of Connecticut made an equitable claim upon the society for these papers, as in the main the papers gathered by Trumbull in his official character, and retained by him, as was then customary, as his private property, but as being, in the light of later practices, properly a part of the archives of the State. The society fell back in the main on their possession of fifty years, and on the honest creation of a trust by the son of Governor Trumbull, which they were bound to fulfil, and declined to surrender the papers.[2] In 1885 the society printed, as the forty-ninth volume of its *Collections*, a selection from the papers, containing, beside some of the earlier ones, the letters of W. S. Johnson already referred to, and letters of Col. Jedidiah Huntington written during the siege of Boston. The preface of this volume gives some notes respecting the history of the papers.[3] Others of Gov. Trumbull's papers are in the Connecticut Historical Society.

The local records of the Revolution are exemplified in Miss F. M. Caulkins's *New London* (1852); William Cothren's *Ancient Woodbury* (1854, vol. i.); D. M. Mead's *Greenwich* (1857); Henry Bronson's *Waterbury* (1858); H. R. Stiles's *Ancient Windsor* (1859); R. H. Phelps's *New Gate of Connecticut* (Simsbury)

[1] They were arranged in thirty volumes, though one or two volumes were probably bound when received. Vols. i. to xviii. contain papers arranged chronologically, 1750–1783. Vol. xix., which included for the most part much earlier papers, was burned, while in the hands of James Savage, in 1825. Vols. xxi. and xxii. hold papers not Revolutionary. Vol. xxiii. embraces for the most part printed papers and broadsides. Vol. xxiv. (though not numbered) has "Military Returns, 1752–1784." These volumes were probably loose papers when received. Vol. xxv. (to give this and later ones a number) is labelled "Washington," and contains official papers, 1779–1783, mostly signed by Washington, but not written by him. Vols. xxvi.–xxix. are letter-books of Trumbull, containing copies of letters sent and received, covering his correspondence with Washington, Schuyler, Gates, the president of Congress, and others. Some of the names more frequently occurring are those of Joseph Spencer, Matthew Griswold, Jedidiah Huntington, David Wooster, Roger Sherman, Samuel H. Parsons, Oliver Wolcott, William Williams, General James Wadsworth, Return J. Meigs, Roger Enos, Oliver Ellsworth, G. S. Silliman, Ezra Stiles, William Ledyard. Vol. xxx. has the letters of the agent of Connecticut in London, William Samuel Johnson.

These last letters have been printed in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.* (vol. xlix.), edited by Dr. Charles Deane. They include a few letters from Governors Pitkin and Trumbull, and from Richard Jackson, the regular colony agent in London, — Johnson having been sent to watch the Mohegan case. They cover the period from Feb., 1767, to June, 1771, and give the observations of a keen spectator upon the movements in English politics at this time affecting American interests. Sparks copied some of Johnson's letters (*Sparks MSS.*, lii., vol. iii.). E. E. Beardsley, in his *Life and Times of William Samuel Johnson* (Boston, 1886), refers to Johnson's diary during this period and to the papers of the Johnson family. He gives a portrait after Stuart. Cf. also *Harper's Mag.*, Nov., 1883, p. 815.

[2] Cf. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, ii. 322, 331, 343, 357, 366.

[3] Papers of so active a correspondent as Trumbull are naturally found in most of the larger collections of Revolutionary papers. There are many letters to and from Trumbull among the Meschech Weare papers in the Mass. Hist. Soc. cabinet (*Letters and Papers, 1777–1780*, vol. i.).

The *Trumbull MSS.* have been used by Barry and various other writers.

The usual portrait of Gov. Trumbull is one taken late in life, representing him full face, one hand in his breast, the other extended and resting on a cane. The original, painted by his son, Col. John Trumbull, is in the Trumbull gallery, New Haven. It has been several times engraved, by O. Pelton, E. Mackenzie, J. G. Kellogg, etc. Cf. Hollister's *Connecticut*, vol. ii.; *N. E Hist. and Geneal. Reg.* (1835), etc. A small canvas, showing the same figure of the governor, but with the form of his wife in the right rear, — perhaps the original study of the larger picture of the governor, — is owned by Mr. Joseph McClellan of Woodstock, Connecticut, whose mother was a sister of Col. Trumbull. The same gentleman owns two portraits of this artist, painted by himself.

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(1860 and 1876); W. C. Fowler's *Durham* (1866); E. B. Huntington's *Stamford County* (1868); C. H. S. Davis's *Wallingford* (1870); F. M. Caulkins's *Norwich* (1874); Ellen D. Larned's *Windham County* (1874); H. R. Timlow's *Southington* (1876); T. S. Gold's *Cornwall* (1877); Samuel Orcutt's *Torrington* (1878), and *Stratford and Bridgeport* (1887); D. W. Teller's *Ridgefield* (1878); C. B. Todd's *Redding* (1880); S. Orcutt and A. Beardsley's *Old Town of Derby* (1880); S. Orcutt's *New Milford* (1882); *Memorial Hist. of Hartford County* (1886); C. H. Levermore's *Republic of New Haven* (1886).

A considerable mass of the letters of John Allyn (d. 1696), long the secretary of the colony, are among the Winthrop papers.

Copies of some of the letters of Benedict Arnold (1775–1780) are in the *Sparks MSS.* (lii.).[1]

The correspondence of Judge David Doggett, 1783–1830, is preserved in the library of Yale University, and Prof. F. B. Dexter has printed a few selections in the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society.

The correspondence of Silas Deane between 1774 and 1776 (beginning in Connecticut, Apr. 13, 1774) is printed in the *Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, ii. p. 129, etc., and shows the progress of the political revolution in Connecticut. Many of the letters were addressed from Connecticut to Mr. Deane while he was in Philadelphia attending the Congress. There are occasional letters of Deane among the *Trumbull MSS.* (vol. iv., etc.). Among some papers presented to the N. Y. Hist. Soc. in 1847, by William Jay, was a "Copy of the Correspondence of Silas Deane with Gov. Trumbull, Benjamin Tallmadge, and J. Wadsworth, 1781–1782."[2]

Sparks was allowed the use of a large number of Deane's papers, put into his hands by Mr. Mitchell of Hartford (*Sparks MSS.*, no. xxxii., vol. ii., and no. lii.; cf. also no. xxv.). These cover the years 1776–1785 and embrace his correspondence with the secret committee of Congress and with Vergennes. Many of his papers are in the possession of his great-granddaughter, Mrs. Isabella G. Thomas. This collection is understood to have been placed in the hands of Mr. Charles Isham of the N. Y. Hist. Society, for editing.

The memoir or address of Deane to Congress, Dec., 1778, as printed in *Papers in relation to the case of Silas Deane, now first printed from the original MSS.* (Philad., Seventy-six Society, 1855), is somewhat different from and less extensive than the copy preserved by Mr. Sparks. The address was laid before Congress Dec. 21, 1778.

There is noted in the *Brinley Catal.* (i., no. 2138) Mr. Deane's own copy of his memorial to Congress, Dec. 21, 1778, with the documents by which it was supported; the proceedings of the Committee of Secret Correspondence on his appointment (Mar. 2, 1776) as agent and commissioner to France; his instructions; and his last application to Congress for a settlement of his accounts, May 22, 1779.

Some letters of Deane, or what purport to be such, were printed in *Paris Papers, or Mr. Silas Deane's late intercepted letters to his brother and other intimate friends in America* (N. Y. [1782]).[3]

A valuable collection of the MSS. of the Rev. Samuel Johnson is still preserved in the old Johnson house at Stratford.

Numerous letters of General Israel Putnam are in the *Trumbull MSS.*

Many letters of Gurdon Saltonstall are in the *Winthrop Papers*, vol. v.

The papers of Roger Sherman have mostly disappeared. The bulk of them were not found, as was expected, among the effects of his son Oliver Sherman, when he died in Boston. The small portion remaining are in the hands of Prof. Simeon E. Baldwin of New Haven, Mr. Geo. W. Baldwin of Boston, and the Hon. George F. Hoar of Worcester, Mass. There are various letters among the *Trumbull MSS.* (vol. vi., etc.)

The Silliman papers are in the possession of Professor O. P. Howard of New York.

The General Silliman papers belonged to his grand-daughter, Mrs. Oliver H. Hubbard, when DeLancey was editing Jones' *N. Y. during the Revolution.*

The diary and papers of President Stiles are preserved at Yale College. Cf. H. M. Dexter's *Congregationalism*, bibliog. App. p. 288.

A portion of the manuscripts of the Rev. Benj. Trumbull, mainly the material from which he constructed his chapters on the Ecclesiastical history of the State in his *History of Connecticut*, is also preserved.

The portfolios of original drawings and sketches by Col. John Trumbull, which are historically of considerable value, are in the possession of Mrs. Arthur W. Wright of New Haven.

The papers of Commissary-Generals Joseph Trumbull and Jeremiah Wadsworth are in the Connecticut Historical Society.

The Connecticut Historical Society possesses a part of the papers of Gov. Oliver Wolcott[4] and the records of the Connecticut branch of the Cincinnati Society.

NEW YORK. — The Archives of New York have been twice subjected to the ravages of fire: once in 1740–41 and again in 1773. It has been said it was owing to Vattemare's remonstrance at seeing porters use the docu-

[1] Cf. notes to the chapter on Arnold and André, *ante*, Vol. VI.

[2] Cf. *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 33.

[3] This is a scarce tract. Menzies, no. 545; Brinley, ii. no. 3998.

[4] The papers were arranged by Wolcott himself. They make 20 volumes of letters, and 30 of official papers. They were used by George Gibbs in his *Administrations of Washington and Adams.*

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ments of the Archives in packing boxes of books that Dr. O'Callaghan was employed to do the work upon the Archives which has been associated with his name; but the statement has also been denied.[1]

The historical records of the State of New York were in 1881 transferred from the custody of the secretary of state and of the comptroller[2] to that of the trustees of the New York State Library, when Mr. Berthold Fernow was placed in charge of them. This custodian described them briefly in a report printed in the *Sixty-Fourth Annual Report of the N. Y. State Library* (for 1881, Albany, 1882). He says that the earliest record preserved is an Indian deed of the land whereon Hoboken now stands, dated July 12, 1630, and from that time till 1664 the Dutch period is covered in 21 volumes; following upon these come 84 vols. of colonial manuscripts, with about 25,000 different papers, which were in a confused mass when Dr. O'Callaghan arranged them. Added to these and running parallel are 44 volumes of General Entries, etc. Of other importance are the Duke's Laws (1665), Dongan's Laws (1683–84), and later laws (1685–1732). Then we have the records of the Commission for settling the bounds between Rhode Island and Massachusetts, those of the commissioners on the Mohegan controversy (1743), and a mass of evidence of the claims of New York against New England (1750).

Mr. Fernow enumerates, as belonging to the Revolutionary period, the following:—

1. *Journal of the New York Convention and Committee of Safety, 1776–1778*, 10 vols.
2. *Revolutionary Papers, 1775–1777*, 12 vols.[3]
3. *Historical Manuscripts*, 23 vols.[4]
4. *Assembly Papers*, 1777, etc.
5. *Minutes of the Council of Appointment*, 1777, etc.
6. *Minutes of the Council of Revision*, 1778, etc.
7. Various treasury accounts, quartermasters' papers, pay-roll and military registers, with records of confiscations.
8. *Vermont Controversy*, 1777, 1779.

The State has just begun a new series of publications, *N. Y. State Archives, N. Y. in the Revolution, prepared by Berthold Fernow*, vol. i., Albany, 1887, which contains the Proceedings of the Provincial Congress (pp. 1–162); the New York line of the Continental Army[5] (pp. 163–253); the participancy of N. Y. in the naval operations (p. 529); and extracts from the Vermont Papers, collected by Henry Stevens and bought by the State of N. Y. (p. 534), relating to the Green Mountain Boys and Vermont militia.

There are also in the State Library two volumes of the Minutes of the Proceedings of the General Committee of Correspondence of the Association for the Safety of the City and County of Albany, Jan. 24, 1775, to June 10, 1778.

The State has also printed of its Revolutionary records the following:—

Journal of the Legislative Council of the Colony, 1691–1775, in two volumes (Albany, 1861).

Journal of the votes and proceedings of the General Assembly of the Colony of New York, 1766–1776.[6]

Laws of the State of New York, 1777–1780[7] (Poughkeepsie, 1782).

The proceedings of the last Provincial Assembly of New York, Jan. 10–Apr. 3, 1775, are printed in Jones's *N. Y. during the Revolution* (i. p. 506).

Gov. Tryon carried off some part of the public archives, and Franklin (Sparks, ix. 140) was instructed to insist in his negotiations on the return of them.

Of the copies of documents secured from the London Archives by Mr. Brodhead,[8] vols. xxxvii. to xlvii.

[1] On the losses, see *ante*, IV. p. 411; also on the Archives, V. 231.

[2] An account of them while in these offices is given in the preface (p. ix) to the English part of the *Calendar of Hist. Docs.* (1868).

[3] Nos. 1 and 2 were printed in 1842 in the *Journals of the Provincial Congress, Provincial Convention, Committee of Safety and Council of Safety of the State of New York*. Some portion of the proceedings of the Committee of Safety for Dec., 1776, not printed here, has been found among the Clinton papers. Copies of the records of the New York Committee of Correspondence, 1774, are among the *Sparks MSS.* (no. xxxix.)

[4] A portion of these are printed in the *Calendar of the Historical Documents relating to the War of the Revolution* (Albany, 1868, in two volumes). Cf. Sabin, xiii. no. 53,555.

These papers begin Mar. 15, 1775, and contain the correspondence, etc., which make them the natural supplements of the *Journals* issued in 1842.

[5] Cf. A. B. Gardner on the "New York Continental line in the Revolution" in *Mag. of Amer. History*, vii. 401; "Col. Philip van Cortlandt and the New York Continentals" in the *New York Geneal. and Biog. Record*, July, 1874.

[6] It was reprinted at Albany in 1820. Sabin (xiii. 53,720–21) gives the various editions.

[7] They were printed contemporaneously in folio to 1796; after that in octavo. Sabin, xiii. nos. 53,734, etc.

[8] *Ante*, IV. p. 409–10.

* From a plate in Valentine's *N. Y. City Manual*, 1851.

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cover the years 1764–1782. These are included in volumes vii. and viii. of the printed *New York Colonial Documents*. The first of these volumes (1756–1767), issued in 1856, pertains largely to Indian affairs, and shows much of the correspondence of Sir William Johnson, the troubles of the Stamp Act period, and the correspondence of Gov. Moore with the British government. The other volume (1768–1782) covers, among other documents, the correspondence of Governors Moore and Tryon and Lieutenant Geo. Colden with Hillsborough, Dartmouth, Lord George Germain, and others of the home government, beside letters of Col. Guy Johnson and Sir Henry Clinton.

Of the papers from the Paris Archives, numbered ix to xvii, as bound in manuscript (1745–1774), and printed in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vol. x., only four documents are of later date than 1763. Other copies have recently been made from the Archives. (Cf. list in the *Seventy-first Report of the State Library*, 1888, p. xiii.)

Sparks says that the correspondence of Edmund Burke with the Assembly of New York during his agency (Dec., 1770, to Apr., 1775) for New York is not known to exist, except one letter on the Quebec bill in the Archives of the New York Historical Society. This correspondence has been studiously excluded from all publications of his writings in England.[1]

There are in the *Sparks MSS.* (no. xliii., vol. ii.) copies, made in 1840 at the State Paper Office, of the correspondence of the royal governors of New York with the home government (1763–1774) and (vol. iv.) with the Board of Trade (1763, etc.).

There are also in the *Sparks MSS.* (no. xxix.) various copies from papers in the secretary's office at Albany, made in 1826; (no. xxxvii.) memoranda from the journals of the Provincial Congress (1775–1777), the Committee of Safety (1775–1776), and of the Constitutional Convention (1775); (no. xxxviii.) letters addressed to Gen. Monckton (1760–1770), then in England, which have been printed in the *Aspinwall Papers* (vol. ii.).

The manuscripts collected by the late Col. Thomas Aspinwall of Boston, pertaining to early Virginia history, with later papers by Gates, Bouquet, and Monckton,[2] went with the Aspinwall library to New York, and are now owned by Mr. S. L. M. Barlow of New York, who also owns a collection of early MS. maps collected by Henry Harrisse.

In regard to the papers of Aaron Burr, Davis, his biographer, says that Burr gave to him for use an "immense quantity" of letters and papers. Davis destroyed all of Burr's correspondence with women. Some of his papers were acquired in 1885 by the State Library (*Report*, 1886) from Mr. Van Gasbeck of Kingston, N. Y. The bulk of his papers, however, is said to have gone to the paper-mill.

The papers of George Clinton, a considerable portion of which were public papers, have passed into the New York State Library at Albany. The larger and more valuable portion, bound in 23 volumes, chronologically arranged, showing 6,307 numbers and more than 7,000 papers, are mostly confined to the Revolution, though there are some papers as late as 1800. These were bought of the family in 1853.

In 1883, another unarranged mass was bought from one of the representatives of the family and added to the other lots. These papers supplement the others, but also are continued to the time of DeWitt Clinton. From these, 2,300 papers were selected as having enough interest to be added to the original accession, being bound in eleven additional volumes. The entire series now consists of thirty-four volumes.[3]

There are some selections from the papers of Geo. Clinton in the *Sparks MSS.* (xii.)

The Clarendon papers, relating to early English rule in New York, are printed in the *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Fund Publications*, ii.

The letter-books of Cadwallader Colden (1760–1775) have been printed in the *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Collections* (Publication Fund series), vols. ix. and x., — the manuscripts being in the possession of that society.[4] See *ante*, V. p. 241. Other Colden papers are in the possession of Mr. S. S. Purple of New York city.

Transcripts of some of Gen. Conway's letters, 1777–1778, are among the *Sparks MSS.* (lii., vol. iii.)

The MS. collection of Gordon L. Ford of Brooklyn is an extensive one, numbering, it is said, 100,000 pieces. It includes 50 letters of Alexander Hamilton, 60 of Robert Morris, 25 of Lafayette, others of Benedict Arnold; and a number of letters, orderly-books, and privateer papers of the Revolutionary period.

Some papers of General Gage are in the New York Hist. Soc. library; and a volume of his letters, while in command in New York before the outbreak of the Revolution, is in the Harvard College library.

The papers of Albert Gallatin are in the library of the N. Y. Historical Society; and some, used by Henry Adams in his *Gallatin*, are in the Department of State at Washington.

Copies of some of the Gansevoort papers (1777) are among the *Sparks MSS.* (lx.)

Some of the papers of Daniel Horsmanden, 1714–47, are in the N. Y. Hist. Society. (Cf. its *Proc.*, 1845, p. 39.)

The papers of John Jay are preserved in the original packages as indorsed by himself; but the files were revised by his son, and those deemed unimportant removed. Many of the letters are unpublished. Bancroft,

[1] Sparks's *Gouverneur Morris*, i. 51.

[2] They have been printed in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, xxxix.

[3] Reports of the custodian of the collection, Judge Geo. W. Clinton, in the 64th to 67th *Reports of the New York State Library*. The judge died in Sept., 1885. There is an additional statement in the *Report* for 1886.

[4] In two volumes, with additional papers of the extent of two more volumes. *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1847, p. 61. Cf. *ante*, Vol. V. 241.

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who was given access to them, calls the collection "very extensive and preserved in perfect order." Jay, at his death in 1829, left them to his sons, but they were not to divide them. One of them, William, used the files in the preparation of *The Life and Writings of John Jay*, published in 1833, who, by the death of his brother becoming sole proprietor of them, bequeathed them on his death in 1858 to his son, John Jay, who now possesses them.[1] Some papers were given by William Jay to the New York Historical Society in 1847,[2] and Professor Johnston of the College of the City of New York is preparing them for publication.

A portion of the papers of Sir William Johnson is in the State Library at Albany.[3]

Copies made by Henry B. Dawson of the papers of Gen. John Lacey are in the State Library at Albany. They contain his autobiography, his journal to Ohio in 1773, and his order-books for 1776, 1778, 1780, and 1781, beside his correspondence and miscellaneous papers, and record his services in New York city, at Sorel, Isle-aux-Noix, Ticonderoga, and at Valley Forge.[4]

The papers of General John Lamb are in the New York Historical Society's library, and form the basis of Isaac Q. Leake's *Memoir of the Life and Times of General John Lamb, an Officer of the Revolution, who Commanded the Post at West Point, at the time of Arnold's Defection, and his Correspondence with Washington, Clinton, Patrick Henry, and other Distinguished Men of his Time* (Albany, 1857).[5]

Some of the papers of Gov. Leisler are printed in the *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Fund Publications*, vol. i.[6]

The letter-book of Capt. Alex. McDonald of the Royal Highland Emigrants, 1775–1779, is in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1882, pp. 203–498.

The New York Historical Society[7] also possesses the papers of John McKesson, the secretary of the N. Y. Provincial Congress.

Copies of a few of Gen. Montgomery's papers are in the *Sparks MSS.* (lii., vol. ii.)

When Sparks wrote his *Life of Gouverneur Morris*,[8] *with selections from his correspondence and miscellaneous papers*[9] (Boston, 1832, in three volumes), he spoke of the manuscripts left by Morris at Morrisania as being furnished to him by the widow. They are still there, but do not become numerous till about 1789. Sparks stated that Morris did not give the attention to the preservation of his papers during the Revolution that he bestowed upon them in later life. The copies which Sparks used are in the *Sparks MSS.* (no. xxxiv.; cf. also no. lii.)

The letters of General Lewis Morris are printed in the *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Collections* (1875, p. 433, etc.), from the family papers of Mr. Henry M. Morris.

The letters of Robert Morris, 1775–1782, have been printed in the *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Collections* (1878, p. 397). The Robert Morris papers are owned by Gen. J. Meredith Read, and are now in a Safe Deposit vault in New York city. The late H. A. Homes, of the New York State Library, examined them and printed a brief statement respecting them.

In the *Hist. Mag.* (i. 277) there is a descriptive account by Mr. S. Alofsen of the Schuyler papers as they were while in that gentleman's hands from 1840 to 1854, when he arranged and indexed them. They next were in Mr. Bancroft's hands, and in 1857 had passed (after they had become mutilated) to the care of Mr. Lossing, who further describes them in his *Life of General Schuyler*, where good use is made of them.[10] The copies which Sparks made of some of them are in the *Sparks MSS.* (nos. xxix. and lx.)

The papers of Baron Steuben (about 3,000 pieces) are in the library of the New York Hist. Society. Sparks

[1] Letter of Mr. Jay, Aug. 28, 1886.

[2] *Proceedings*, 1847, p. 135. As to Jay's scrupulous care of his papers, see *John Adams' works*, viii. 446, 451.

[3] See *ante*, Vol. V.

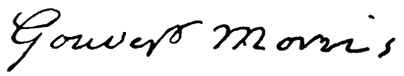
[4] *Report N. Y. State Library* (1884), 1885, p. 15.

[5] It has a portrait of Lamb. Cf. on Gen. Lamb, Jones' *New York during the Rev.*, ii. ch. 21.

[6] Cf. *ante*, V. p. 240.

[7] *Proc.*, 1847, p. 81.

[8] A pleasing portrait of Morris as painted by T. Sully, and engraved by J. B. Longacre, is given by Sparks. The picture is at Morrisania. It represents him at half-length,



sitting at a table, upon which his open hand is laid, as if engaged in conversation. A profile likeness is given in the quarto edition of Irving's *Washington*. There is a picture in Independence Hall.

For articles on Morris, see *Poole's Index*, p. 872; especially J. W. Francis in *Hist. Mag.*, xiii. 193 (Apr., 1868); C. K. Meredith in *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, ii. 185; and an interview described by Edward Everett in *Old and New*, vii. 49.

The latest life of Morris is by Theodore Roosevelt. He complains of the changes which Sparks made in the text of Morris's letters and diary. He used Morris's letters in the Jay and Pickering MSS., and derived help from an article by H. C. Lodge in the *Atlantic*, April, 1886; another in *Macmillan's Mag.*, Nov., 1885; and two others on Morris's life in Paris by Miss A. C. Morris in *Scribner's Mag.*, Jan. and Feb., 1887. This lady has since edited *The Diary and Letters of Gouverneur Morris, Minister of the United States to France* [*1789–1793*], *with portraits* (New York, 1888).

[9] A French translation, *Memorial de Gouverneur Morris*, by Glandais, was published in Paris in 1842, with annotations.

[10] De Lancey regrets that they have not been printed in full. Jones's *N. Y. during the Rev.*, ii. 579. Cf. *Ibid.* ii. ch. 17, for a sketch of Schuyler. When Lossing used them they were in the keeping of Mr. George L. Schuyler of New York city, a grandson of the general, and Lossing reports (*Life of Schuyler*, i. p. vii) that they then consisted of several large letter-books of Schuyler's own letters and numerous files of letters received. After the general's death the papers were neglected and many were lost. Some of them are printed in Sparks's *Corresp. of the Rev.*, vol. i. Schuyler won the admiration of Graydon (*Memoirs*, p. 143).

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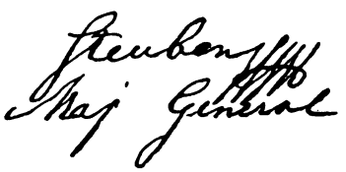
had a portion of them copied in 1827, beginning in 1778 and going through the war, and these copies are now among the *Sparks MSS.* (no. xv.)[1]

A copy of a letter to Washington, Aug. 25, 1789, accompanied by a "State of facts" respecting his services during the Revolutionary War, is in the *Sparks MSS.* (lii., vol. iii.)[2]



Francis Bowen in his *Life of Steuben* in Sparks's *Amer. Biog.*, vol. ix., made use of the Steuben papers, and says that he derived the little that he learned of his early career from the drafts of his petitions to Congress preserved among them. Occasional letters are in the *Trumbull MSS.* (vol. ix., etc.)[3] Kapp mentions other papers as preserved at Utica.

The papers of William Alexander, Lord Stirling, having descended to his widow, were for a while lost sight of, but when discovered were given to the New York Historical Society. They were used by his grandson, William A. Duer, in his *Life of Stirling*.[4] Some of the most important of the papers are missing, such as his correspondence with the English statesmen on American affairs, and his correspondence with Washington, which was separated from the others for better preservation and then forgotten. A few of the papers are copied in the Sparks MSS. (no. xxxix.) When received by the Historical Society they were bound in three volumes; but there was a mass unbound which generally antedated the bound papers, and in bulk making three more volumes. They extend from 1717 to 1783.[5]

The papers of Daniel D. Tompkins are in the State Library at Albany.

According to Lossing (*Mary and Martha Washington*, p. 278), the correspondence of Schuyler and Hamilton, on political aspects, was destroyed by direction of Gen. Van Rensselaer.

There are in the *Sparks MSS.* (lx.) "papers copied from the manuscripts of Peter van Schaack relating to the loyalists, written in London." They were used by H. C. van Schaack in his *Life of Peter van Schaack* (N. Y., 1842).

Van Buren's unfinished autobiography and other papers were committed to C. H. Hunt for use in writing a life, which has never appeared (preface to Van Buren's *Polit. Parties*). Cf. Shepherd's *Van Buren* (*Statesmen Series*).

The papers of Maj. Weemys are in the Mass. Hist. Society.[6]

The New York Historical Society has also the papers of Col. Walter Stewart, Col. Allen McLane, and William Duer.[7] The same society has a miscellaneous collection of Revolutionary papers, but no calendar has been printed of them.

Among the private collections of historical manuscripts in New York, that of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet, of New York city, is said to be among the first in importance. It is contained in between forty and fifty large folio volumes, and illustrates the colonial and Revolutionary period.[8] The great collection of Dr. W. B. Sprague, after having vainly sought a purchaser in the federal and state governments, is said to have at last fallen into private hands in Philadelphia.[9]

Mr. I. N. Stauffer has a good collection relating to the Revolution.

Some of the local historical societies have gathered a few papers. There are some orderly-books and journals in the Cayuga County Historical Society.[10]

NEW JERSEY. — The legislative action of New Jersey dates back to 1683, and two hundred years later the anniversary was celebrated.[11] Of the printed series published by the N. J. Hist. Soc. at the expense of the

[1] For portraits of Steuben, see Irving's *Washington*, quarto ed., after original in New York City Hall; also E. M. Stone's *French Allies*, p. 138; *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Sept., 1883; Lossing's *Field-book*, ii. 341. For his dwelling and grave, see *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1862. For "Steuben in Virginia," see *Hist. Mag.*, iv. 301. Cf. *Doc. Hist. N. Y.* octavo, iii. 1135.

[2] The collection of Mr. J. H. Osborne of Auburn, N.Y., has a long letter in French, giving an account of the inducements held out to Steuben to come to America.

[3] A letter in fac-simile is given in Smith's *Hist. and Lit. Curiosities*, 2d ser., pl. xxvi. Col. Wm. North (his aid) wrote a sketch of Steuben, which was printed as an appendix to Thacher's *Military Journal*. A sketch of Steuben, found among North's papers, is printed in the *Mag. of Am. Hist.*, March, 1882, p. 187. The most considerable narrative, however, is the life written in German by Friedrich Kapp (reviewed in *N. Am. Rev.*, xc. p. 171, in 1864), upon which George W. Greene based his account in his *German Element in the War for Independence* (N. Y., 1876). Greene also in his *Hist. View of the Amer. Rev.* (pp. 233, 298, 311) records the great service of Steuben in moulding the army of the Revolution into an organized force. Cf. Sparks's account in his *Washington*, v. app. 526.

[4] Contains a portrait of Stirling, who first entered the service in command of a New Jersey regiment. Cf. A. S. Mackenzie in *No. Amer. Rev.*, lxiv. 435; W. A. Whitehead in *Princeton Review*, xix. 315; the account in De Lancey's notes to Jones, ii. ch. 18 and p. 579.

[5] *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1847, p. 60. They count about 2,000 pieces, and were rearranged in 1848 in five volumes. The earlier papers contain important documents while Stirling was an aid of Shirley, 1755-56, from the death of Braddock to the arrival of Loudon.

[6] Cf. *ante*, VI. p. 578.

[7] Cf. note xlvii. to Jones' *N. Y. during the Rev.*, vol. ii.

[8] Some account of Dr. Emmet's collection is in Draper's *Essay on Autograph Collec.* (1889), pp. 60, 77, 81, 85, 90.

[9] There is an account of his career as a collector in Draper's *Essay*.

[10] There is a small collection of Revolutionary papers in the hands of J. H. Osborne of Auburn.

[11] *Celebration of the bi-centennial anniversary of the New Jersey legislature, 1683-1883* (Trenton, 1883).

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State and known as *New Jersey Archives*, but entitled *Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New Jersey*,[1] the last volume published at the time of writing (Sept., 1886) is the tenth, which covers the administration of Gov. William Franklin, 1767–1776. A general index to the series was published in 1888.[2]

In 1752 the Provincial legislature published the original *Grants and Concessions* of the proprietors to the first settlers, and the *Acts of the Legislature* of East and West Jersey till 1703. This collection is sometimes cited as *Leaming and Spicer*, from the names of its compilers, and it has been recently reprinted.

There is in the *Sparks MSS.* a small collection of copies from the public offices of New Jersey, made in 1826.[3]

The Board of Proprietors of East Jersey have at their office at Perth Amboy very full records of surveys and warrants for the sale of lands from 1683 to date; and scattered through their minutes and other records is much relating to the government of the colony prior to its surrender in 1702 to the crown. A like class of records is to be found in the office at Burlington of the Board of Proprietors of West Jersey. Much of local history is to be found in both offices down to the Revolution. Many papers relating to these Boards are to be found in the collections of the New Jersey Historical Society (papers of Ferdinand John Paris, and the Rutherfurd, Whitehead, and other manuscripts), of the Pennsylvania and New York historical societies, and in the State Library at Albany, and in private hands.

In the office of the Secretary of State at Trenton are the original records of deeds and wills formerly kept at Perth Amboy and Burlington, for East and West Jersey, respectively, down to the present century, and the original wills to date. In these records are also entered, somewhat promiscuously, charters for public and private corporations, commissions of military and civil officers, and other documents.[4]

Copies of the official correspondence of the royal governors of New Jersey (1765–1774) with the neighboring colonies and with the home government are among the *Sparks MSS.* (xliii., vols. ii. and iv.), and in no. xi. are various public papers of date previous to 1775. The letter-books of Gov. Belcher are in the Mass. Hist. Society.[5]

The legislative acts of the Revolutionary period were printed at Burlington in 1776 and at Trenton in 1784,[6] and were reprinted in 1835 at Woodbury.

The present adjutant-general of the State, William S. Stryker, who has devoted much time to the elucidation of the Revolutionary annals of New Jersey, published at Trenton in 1872 an *Official Register of the officers and men of New Jersey in the Revolutionary War*, which was prepared, as Gen. Stryker says, "without the aid of any valuable documents preserved by the State."

The State has printed the *Journal of the Governor and Council, 1682–1703* (now reprinting with great care from the original manuscript by the N. J. Hist. Soc. as vol. xi. of the *N. J. Archives*), the *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1703, and the *Minutes of the New Jersey Council of Safety* for 1777; and in 1879 it published the *Minutes of the Provincial Congress and the Council of Safety* for 1775 and 1776. This last volume begins with certain preliminary records, the first being extracts from the minutes of the Assembly, Feb. 8, 1774, which is followed by sundry county resolutions, the correspondence of the committees of Boston and New Jersey, the records of the Council and Assembly, and various other papers (pp. 1–168). The records of 1775–76 cover the doings of the Provincial Congress, the Council of Safety, the Assembly, the Convention of 1776, and gives the ordinances passed.[7] In 1877 the State also printed an *Index to the Laws, 1663–1877*.

There is also a compilation of the Revolutionary correspondence of the executive of New Jersey, published by the N. J. Hist. Soc. in 1844, which is now out of print.

The papers of Gov. William Livingston[8] were in the possession of Theodore Sedgwick, Jr., when Sparks, in 1832, made the copies now in the *Sparks MSS.* (lii., vol. iii.) These copies cover 1776–1777. The originals, contained in ten volumes, are now in the library of S. L. M. Barlow of New York.

The Pettit papers are in the library of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, and Sparks made some copies which are now in the *Sparks MSS.* (no. lii., vol. ii.)[9]

The New Jersey Historical Society has the Paris, Robert Hunter Morris, Rutherfurd, and Whitehead manuscripts relating to the proprietors of East Jersey, and incidentally to the early history of the whole colony and province. It has also many of the papers of John Fenwick of West Jersey, the manuscripts of Samuel Smith (forming the body of Proud's *Hist. of Pennsylvania*) touching the history of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and the Quakers. The Society has many minor collections of early papers, as well as orderly-books, journals, and other material relating to the Revolution. There are also in the Society's keeping the original manuscript of

[1] Newark, 1886. [2] Cf. *ante*, III. p. 455.

[3] No. xxxvi.

[4] For this and other details thanks are due to Gen. Stryker, and Mr. William Nelson of the N. J. Hist. Society.

[5] Letter of N. H. Bishop, March 17, 1887.

[6] Brinley, ii. nos. 3,587–8.

[7] The original records of the Provincial Congress of 1776 belong to the New Jersey Historical Society. This institution has a considerable mass of Revolutionary papers which is not arranged (*Letter of Wm. Nelson, Rec. Sec.*).

[8] When, in Feb., 1779, Liberty Hall, the seat of Governor Livingston, was ransacked by a party of British for papers, the adroit representations of a young lady in the house guided the plunderers away from the public papers for which they were in search. Cf. "Gov. William Livingston and Liberty Hall" in *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, May, 1889, p. 375.

[9] Charles Pettit was secretary of New Jersey. For a note on the family, see *N. Jersey Archives*, x. 133.

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the *Journal of the Governor and Council*, 1682–1703, and certified copies from England of the Journal from 1708 to 1776. The years 1703–8 are missing.

In the State Library at Trenton are several volumes of Revolutionary manuscripts, including letters, claims for property destroyed, etc.

Among private collections of manuscripts, that of General Stryker is particularly rich in Revolutionary material. Garret D. W. Vroom of Trenton has much of a general character, particularly political and personal. Judge John Clement of Haddonfield has gathered a great deal pertaining to West Jersey history. William Nelson of Paterson has several hundred documents in his collection of early papers.

PENNSYLVANIA. — The series of published documents known as the *Colonial Records* has been described elsewhere.[1] The period of the Revolution is covered by vols. ix. to xiii., including the minutes of the Council of Safety. In the supplemental series of the *Pennsylvania Archives* (second series) we find in vol. i. the minutes of the Board of War; in vol. iii., papers of the war (1777–81), including officers of the State under the Constitution of 1776, the names of such as took the oath of allegiance;[2] and other records in the first series, vols. iv. to ix. In vol. x. we have the rosters of the Pennsylvania troops, 1775–1783, interspersed with the portraits and autographs of their distinguished officers; other military details[3] in vol. xi., including an account of Pennsylvanians in Col. Hazen's regiment "Congress' Own," 1776–1783; the corps of Count von Ollendorf, 1776–1780; the German regiments of the Continental line, July 12, 1776, to Jan. 1, 1781; with the independent companies raised in the Wyoming Valley and attached to the Connecticut line, and still other details in vols. xii., xiii., and xiv.[4] The MS. originals of the *Col. Records* are preserved in the State archives; those of the series called *Penna. Archives* are scattered.

In the *Sparks MSS.* (no. l.) there is a volume of letters and papers copied from the originals in the office of the Secretary of State in 1826.

The *Pennsylvania Register* of Samuel Hazard is a convenient gathering for the student.[5] Papers relating to the forfeited estates of loyalists belonging to the State, have never been printed.

There are in the *Sparks MSS.* (xliii., vol. iii.) copies of the official correspondence of the authorities of Pennsylvania with the home government (1763–1776).

There are also in the Sparks MSS. (vol. 104) in Harvard College library various papers on the colony of New Sweden, copied from the Stockholm Archives, including a copy, made by I. F. Bahr in 1835, of Lindström's map of the siege of Fort Christine in 1655, and a copy, also by Bahr, of the same date, of Lindström's map of the Delaware, 1654–1655, "Calquée sur cette qui se trouve chez Campanius."

The local aspects of the Revolution are to be studied in the histories of Philadelphia, in the histories of towns as enumerated in part elsewhere;[6] and particularly, for the period of the war, U. J. Jones's *Early Settlement of the Juniata Valley* (Phil., 1856); and Lewis H. Garrard's *Chambersburg in the Colony of the Revolution* (Phil., 1856), and in some of the County histories like those by Dr. W. H. Egle of Dauphin and Lebanon counties.

A few of the papers of Elias Boudinot are in the library of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

The letter-books of Gen. Brodhead (1779–80) are in the State archives; and they have been mostly printed in the publications of the State.

The manuscripts of Thomas Bradford, commissary of prisoners, are in the same library, as are those of Col. Wm. Bradford, a part of which have been obtained since Wallace prepared his life of Bradford.

The letter-books and correspondence of Major Isaac Craig of the Revolutionary army are owned by his grandson, Mr. Isaac Craig of Alleghany City.

There is in the Philadelphia Library a collection in five volumes of the letters of William Dillwyn, addressed to his daughter, Susanna Emlen, which are of great importance in the study of the social life of the period from 1770 to 1824.[7]

The papers of John Fitch, 1784–1794, are in the Library of Congress, and his MS. autobiography belongs to the Library Company of Philadelphia.

There are copies from the letters of Persifer Frazer in the *Sparks MSS.*, no. xxi.; they are addressed to his wife, and concern events of 1776–1778 in New York and New Jersey.

A letter-book of General Edward Hand from Fort Pitt, Oct. 10, 1777, to April 11, 1778, is in the Museum at Deerfield, Mass.[8] It pertains to Indian affairs on the borders of Virginia and Pennsylvania. Two large

[1] Vol. III. p. 510.

[2] Cf. *Names of persons who took the oath of allegiance to the State of Pennsylvania, 1777–1789. By Thompson Westcott* (Phil., 1865).

[3] For First Penn. Artillery, see *Penna. Mag. of Hist.* iv.

[4] Cf. "The Butler family of the Pennsylvania line" in *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, vii. p. 1.

[5] See Vol. III. p. 510; and the opinion of the work expressed in the preface of Reed's *Life of Joseph Reed*. John Dunlap printed in Philadelphia a good many broadsides for Congress, the War Office, the Council of Safety, etc., and many of these are preserved in the library of the Pennsylvania Hist. Society. Chas. R. Hildeburn, in his *Century of Printing*, 1685–1784, records the publications in Pennsylvania during the Revolution. These include the Acts of the Assembly. Cf. Job R. Tyson's address, Oct. 24, 1851, on Pennsylvania in the Revolution.

[6] Vol. V. p. 249.

[7] *Philad. Library Bulletin*, July, 1884, p. 37.

[8] There is a likeness of Hand in *The Campaign of 1776 in Canada*, p. 114. An original likeness belongs to the Hist. Soc. of Penna.

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volumes of Hand papers are in the possession of his descendants at Lancaster, Pa.; and these or others have been of late for sale by a dealer in New York.

The papers of Capt. Thomas Hutchins are in the library of the Penna. Hist. Soc. They embrace various maps of his making, including one of Fort Pitt and vicinity.

The letters of Gen. James Irvine, of the Pennsylvania militia, while a prisoner on Long Island, are in the Pennsylvania Hist. Society's library.

The papers of General William Irvine are contained in 11 volumes. They were in the possession of Dr. William A. Irvine of Warren, Pa., when Sparks secured copies of some of them for the *Sparks MSS.* (no. liv.), in 1847, and remained in his hands till his death, Sept. 7, 1886, after which they passed into the library of the Pennsylvania Historical Society. They include also orderly-books of Generals McIntosh and Broadhead, kept at Fort McIntosh (Beaver, Pa.) and Fort Pitt, 1778–79; and one of General Irvine, kept at Fort Pitt, 1781–83. C. W. Butterfield used a portion of them in *The Washington-Irvine Correspondence: The official letters which passed between Washington and Brig. Gen. William Irvine, etc., 1781–1783* (Madison, Wisc., 1882); and others were published under the editing of Mr. F. D. Stone, in the *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, v. 259.

The Logan Papers belong to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.[1]

Papers supposed to be those of Dr. Mease (1776–1783) are in the library of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, and copies of some of them are in the *Sparks MSS.* (lii. vol. ii.)

Among the diaries which have been preserved illustrating life in Pennsylvania during the Revolutionary period are those of Christopher Marshall[2] and Mrs. Margaret Morris.[3]

The Penn papers are in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.[4]

The letter-books of Richard Peters are in the library of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

In the library of the Pennsylvania Historical Society are the papers of Dr. Jonathan Potts, the deputy director-general of the medical staff of the Northern army, 1775–1780.

The papers of Joseph Reed came from the hands of his grandson, William B. Reed, into the keeping of the New York Historical Society, except a series of letters, written by Washington to Reed during the former's stay at Cambridge in 1775–1776, which are at present in the Carter-Brown library at Providence.

The papers of Benjamin Rush are in the keeping of the Philadelphia Library, and cover the interval 1769–1869. Of the fifty-two volumes and bundles in which they are arranged, one is distinctively devoted to the Revolution; another contains the letters of David Ramsay (1776–1813). The miscellaneous letters addressed to Rush take twenty-six of the volumes, and there is one of Rush's letter-books.[5]

The papers of Arthur St. Clair were found in 1869, in a bad condition, in the possession of the heirs of Col. Robert Graham, in Kansas, and were bought in 1870 by the State of Ohio, arranged, and placed in the State Library. When it was found that the care of the state librarian was not sufficient to prevent the papers being carried off piecemeal by autograph-hunters, the State confirmed an arrangement with Robert Clarke & Co. of Cincinnati for publishing them, and entrusted the preparation of the volumes to William Henry Smith. This editor endeavored, as far as he could, to perfect the rough drafts of St. Clair's letter-books by the letters actually sent, in cases where they could be traced.

The Shippen papers are in the Pennsylvania Historical Society's library. They have been increased from time to time, until they now make ten large volumes. Some part of them were printed by Thomas Balch in 1855;[6] but in the main they refer to ante-Revolutionary times. A portion of the family papers are still in the possession of Mr. Edward Shippen of Philadelphia.[7]

The papers of Charles Thomson were in part copied for William B. Reed, and from his copies a series of them was printed in the N. Y. Hist. Society's *Collections* for 1878. This includes Thomson's minutes of debates in Congress, July 22 to Sept. 20, 1782.[8] It also embraces papers which show the state of affairs in Pennsylvania in 1774–1775, with a narrative by Joseph Reed (p. 269) touching John Dickinson's conduct, with Thomson's counter-statement[9] (p. 274). The earliest of these Thomson papers is of 1765, and the collection is thought "to include the most considerable part" of all his manuscripts. One of his letter-books belongs to the Hist. Soc. of Penna.

[1] Cf. *ante*, V. 242.

[2] *Diary of Christopher Marshall, kept in Philadelphia and Lancaster, Penna., during the American Revolution, 1774–1781*, first entire edition, ed. by William Duane (Albany, 1877). The original is in the Hist. Soc. of Penna. library.

[3] *Private Journal kept during a portion of the Revolutionary War for the amusement of a sister. Ed. by John F. Smith* (privately printed, Philad., 1836; and again, 50 copies, New York, 1865). There is a copy of the Margaret Morris journal, "kept for her sister, Milcah Martha Moore, at Burlington, New Jersey, Dec. 6, 1776, to June, 1778," in the *Sparks MSS.* (no. xlviii.).

[4] Cf. *ante*, III. pp. 506, 507.

[5] *Philad. Library Bulletin*, July, 1884, p 48. Several letters of Rush are given in Lee's *Life of R. H. Lee*, ii. 159, etc. It is said that a considerable part of Rush's correspondence was destroyed in England. Mr. James G. Barnwell, the librarian of the Philadelphia Library, tells me that among Rush's principal correspondents were Jeremy Belknap and Elizabeth Greene. There are some notes of Rush's speeches among the papers, and much of a medical character. His diary is represented as purposely mutilated.

[6] See Vol. V. pp. 243, 578.

[7] For an account of Edward Shippen, see *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, April, 1883. His likeness, by Stuart, is in the *Nat. Portrait Gallery* (N. Y., 1834). There is a view of the Shippen mansion in Brotherhead's *Signers* (1861), p. 7.

[8] Madison's minutes begin Nov., 1782.

[9] This is also printed from Sparks's copy (1824) in the *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, vol. ii.

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Sparks (no. lxii.) made copies in 1828 from them, when they were in the possession of Thomson's nephew, Mr. John Thomson of Newark, Delaware, but they are said to have passed into the hands of a brother's descendant in Memphis. Thomson's private papers are said to have been burnt by him.

The papers of Anthony Wayne, having been for a while in the hands of Mr. Henry B. Dawson,[1] have recently been temporarily deposited with the Hist. Soc. of Penna. There are a few of the Wayne papers (copies) in the *Sparks MSS.* (no. xxv.) A son of Wayne, Col. Isaac Wayne, furnished the documentary and other evidence which was embodied in a biography of Wayne printed in *The Casket* (Philad.), which was availed of by John Armstrong in his *Life of Wayne* in Sparks *Amer. Biog.*, vol. iv. The *Life and Services of Gen. Anthony Wayne* (Philad., 1845) professes to be founded on documentary evidence furnished by Isaac Wayne.[2]

A part of the papers of James Wilson, signer of the Declaration of Independence, is in the library of the Hist. Soc. of Penna.

DELAWARE. — In the *Sparks MSS.* (no. xv.) is a selection (copies) from papers in the office of the Secretary of State in Delaware, which was made in June, 1826. They begin Oct. 14, 1777, after the battle of Brandywine. Mr. Sparks notes in connection: "When the British were in Wilmington, a short time before the battle of Brandywine, and when they carried off President McKinly, they also took away the public papers and journals belonging to the county of Newcastle, pertaining to the old government. On the 24th of Feb., 1783, the Council voted to send a person with a flag of truce to New York to solicit these papers from Sir Guy Carleton. A few of them only were found. It was said that others had been taken to Charleston. On the 3d of June following it is recorded in the journal that there was reason to suppose these papers had been removed to the island of Jamaica. The president was authorized to take measures to procure them. This seems never to have been done." These Sparks copies contain extracts from the Proceedings of the House of Representatives, 1766–1776; and an account of the single Delaware regiment of the Continental line, which was first commanded by John Haslett, who was killed at Princeton.[3] In the *Papers of the Hist. Soc. of Delaware*, vol. vi., there are minutes of the Council of the Delaware State, 1776–1792 (Wilmington, 1887).

The same Sparks volume has "copies of fourteen letters (1774–1779) from George Read to Cæsar Rodney, the originals whereof are in the possession of Cæsar A. Rodney, Esq.;" and also letters between George Read and others.

A few of the Rodney papers are printed in Niles's *Principles and Acts of the American Revolution* (ed. of 1876, p. 245, etc.), and those of Capt. Thomas Rodney and Cæsar Rodney are said to be in the charge of Mr. J. M. C. Rodney of Wilmington.

The papers of George Read came, in 1836, into the possession of his grandson, William Thompson Read, who had already prepared the sketch of George Read which appeared in Sanderson's *Biography of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence* (vol. iii.); but that memoir contained but eight of the letters which now constitute a large part of the later work of the same author, *Life and Correspondence of George Read* (Philadelphia, 1870).[4] A small part of the Read papers are in the library of the Penna. Hist. Society.

MARYLAND. — The report of the committee of the Maryland Hist. Soc., Nov. 12, 1883, reviews the earlier reports which had been made on the Maryland records. In 1722, a commission to care for the archives, repaired, bound, and transcribed some volumes, and four of such volumes are now in the library of the Maryland Hist. Society. The Report of Nov. 12, 1883, is accompanied by a calendar of the State archives.[5]

This committee procured from the Public Record Office in London all papers relating to Maryland of an earlier date than 1668. The *Maryland Archives*,[6] as printing, have included some of these papers already enumerated, and will include others. The committee report that beside the bound records there are from 8,000 to 10,000 loose papers, mostly relating to the Revolution.[7]

The *Proceedings of the Conventions of the Province of Maryland, held at Annapolis, 1774, 1775 and 1776*, were published at Annapolis in 1774–5–6, and were republished at Baltimore in 1836. The originals are in the library of the Maryland Hist. Society.[8]

The journal of the Council of Safety at Annapolis, 1775–1776, is in the library of the Maryland Hist.

[1] As stated in his *Assault on Stoney Point* (1863).

[2] Cf. *Hist. Mag.*, vi. 336.

[3] Cf a history of this regiment in the *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, Jan., 1886. A copy of the journal of Capt. Kirkland, of the Delaware line (1777–1782), is among the *Sparks MSS.* (no. xxv.)

[4] A book without contents-table or index, where they are peculiarly needed, as the author's plan is to interject numerous appendices between the chapters. It has a portrait of Geo. Read, engraved by Sartain from a picture in Independence Hall; and in an appendix, p. 572, it gives an account of two likenesses: one, painter unknown, owned by W. T. Read; and the other, by R. E. Pine, owned by a daughter of the late William Read of Philadelphia.

[5] See *ante*, Vol. V. 270.

[6] Henry Stockbridge's paper on "The Archives of Maryland as illustrating the spirit of the times of the early colonists" (*Maryland Hist. Soc. Fund Publ.*, no. 22, Balt., 1886) is in effect a summary of the three volumes of the *Maryland Archives* published up to that time. Seven volumes have now been printed; and in the first volume of Assembly Proceedings, and in the first volume of Council Proceedings, there are calendars of the MS. archives in the custody of the Historical Society, but belonging to the State.

[7] Cf. *ante*, Vol. III. 555; V. 271.

[8] Lewis Mayer published in 1854 a *Catal. of the MSS. in the Maryland Hist. Society.*

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Society, as is also the correspondence of the Committee of Safety in Baltimore, with their Proceedings, 1775–1776, and the original rolls of the Cincinnati Society of Maryland.

Mr. Rideout, the secretary of Gov. Sharpe, gave to Mr. Robert Gilmor [1] a collection of the papers now belonging to the Maryland Hist. Soc., and known as the *Gilmor Maryland Papers*. They contain Sharpe's instructions, some of his correspondence with officers in America, the governors of the other colonies, and the home government. Gov. Sharpe's letter-books, 1767–1771, were committed to the custody of this society by the State in 1846. In the *Sparks MSS.* (no. ix.) are letters of Sharpe, copied from originals in the office of the Secretary of State at Annapolis. The latest publication of the Maryland Historical Society is: *Archives of Maryland. Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe. Vol. i. 1753–1757. William Hand Browne, editor.* (Baltimore, 1888), being the sixth volume of the series.

There are also in the *Sparks MSS.* (xliii., vol. iii.) copies of the official correspondence of the authorities of Maryland and the home government (1763–1776). The instructions of Gov. Eden, 1769, are in *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 231. In *Ibid.* no. xxix. are various copies from the papers then (1826) in the office of the Secretary of State.

There are various documentary proofs printed in the appendix of Robert Purviance's *Narrative of Events which occurred in Baltimore Town during the Revolutionary War.*[2]

The military service of Maryland is commemorated in Thomas Balch's *Papers relating chiefly to the Maryland line during the Revolution.*[3]

The Peabody Index to the Maryland documents in the State Paper Office, London, was made by Henry Stevens, and the last volume (vol. xi.) covers 1754–1780, and refers to documents concerning the administrations of Governors Sharpe and Eden, the troubles of the Stamp Act period, and the subsequent movements of the war. It is in the library of the Maryland Historical Society, which has also recently procured from England a collection of Calvert Papers, nearly a thousand documents in all, of the Colonial period. A full account of them, with copies of a few, will be published by the Society.

Bacon's edition of the laws (1765) gives in full only six out of the three hundred and more statutes passed prior to 1664. The *Maryland Archives*, printed from MS. sources in Maryland and London, are much fuller. This publication has now (1889) been brought down to 1683.

The Maryland laws of the Revolutionary period are included in A. C. Hanson's edition, *Laws of Maryland made since 1763* (Annapolis, 1787).

For some years the Maryland Historical Society has been causing copies to be made of the parish records throughout the State.

For personal or family papers we have: —

The journal and letters of Capt. Wm. Beatty, of the Maryland line, 1776–1781, are in the Maryland Hist. Soc. library.

The papers of Charles Carroll are said to be in the charge of Ex-Gov. John Lee Carroll, but some are in the cabinet of the Maryland Historical Society.

The papers of Gen. Mordecai Gist are in the Maryland Hist. Soc. library, including correspondence, orderly-books, and other service records.[4]

The Clement Hill papers, relating to surveys in Prince George's and St. Mary's counties, 1660–1720, belong to the Maryland Historical Society.

The papers of Dr. James McHenry, Washington's secretary, still preserved, contain 105 letters from Washington and about 800 public papers.

The papers of M. Du Bois Martin, in the Maryland Hist. Soc., contain the evidences of his agency in the embarcation of Lafayette for America.

The papers of Matthew Ridley of Maryland were in the possession of Theodore Sedgwick, Jr., of New York, in April, 1832, when Sparks caused copies to be made (*Sparks MSS.* lii.) of the "Diary and letters, 1777–1783, containing [adds Sparks] many errors and false suspicions respecting men and things in Paris (particularly Dr. Franklin)."

The papers of Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer were destroyed at the evacuation of Richmond, Va., whither they had been sent before the civil war for editing and publication. Miss Stone, of Port Tobacco, has a few.

Some part of the papers of Gen. Smallwood, as well as his portrait, are in the possession of the Maryland Hist. Society.

The papers of Thomas Stone, the signer of the Declaration of Independence, are preserved, but at present inaccessible. Miss Margaret Stone of Port Tobacco, Md., has a few.

The papers of Col. Tench Tilghman, one of Washington's secretaries, are in the possession of Col. Oswald Tilghman of Easton, Md.

[1] Mr. Gilmor was a successful collector in Baltimore, whose private autograph collection, largely historical, became the basis of the collection now owned by Ferdinand J. Dreer of Philadelphia (Draper's *Essay*, 16, 66). The latter's collection includes many papers relating to the Conway Cabal, and embraces the anonymous letter written by Rush to Patrick Henry.

[2] Baltimore, 1849. The originals of the papers used in this volume are in the Maryland Historical Society. Cf. Sabin, xii. 51,788. Thomas (ii. 157) gives an account of the Baltimore newspapers, 1773–1785.

[3] Philad., Seventy-Six Society, 1857. Cf. *Hist. Mag.* xi. 79; McSherry's *Maryland*, ch. 9.

[4] There is a portrait of Gen. Mordecai Gist in the cabinet of the Maryland Hist. Society.

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The papers of Col. Otho Holland Williams were used by Johnson in his *Life of Nathanael Greene*, where he prints Williams' narrative of the defeat of Gates at Camden.[1] Various letters are printed in Osmond Tiffany's address on the *Life of Gen. Otho Williams* before the Maryland Historical Society (Baltimore, 1851). A few unimportant papers are in the possession of Otho H. Williams, his great-grandson; but the more important ones, having been sent to New England for the use of an historical student, were lost on being sent back to Baltimore by water.[2] This was before Col. Williams' death in 1794.

There are some other papers in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society, especially portions of the papers of Daniel Dulany, Judge Samuel Chase, Gov. Wm. Paca, and Gov. Thomas Johnson.[3]

VIRGINIA. — Two manuscript folio volumes of the records of the Virginia Company of London, 1619–1624, are in the Library of Congress.[4] A third volume, being the correspondence down to 1625, also exists.

It has been recently announced that the original draft of William Byrd's *Hist. of the Dividing Line* is in the British Museum, and is to be copied for the State of Virginia.[5] A copy made for T. H. Wynne is now owned by R. A. Brock.

The printed archives of Virginia include: —

Ordinances passed at a General Convention at Williamsburg, May, 1776 (Richmond, 1816).

Proceedings of the Convention of Delegates at Richmond [and Williamsburg] *Mar., 1775, and May, 1776* (Williamsburg, 1775–76; again Richmond, 1816).[6]

Journal of the House of Delegates, 1776–1790 (Richmond, 1827–1828, in four volumes). This is continued to the present time.

Journal of the Senate, 1778–1779, 1785–1790 (Richmond, 1827, 1828, in two volumes). This is continued to the present time.

Acts of the Assembly (Williamsburg, 1769), *Report of the Committee of Revisors* [Jefferson, Wythe, and Pendleton], *appointed in 1776* (Richmond, 1784), and *Public Acts of the General Assembly, passed since 1768* (Richmond, 1785).

Code of Virginia with the Declaration of Independence and Constitution [by J. M. Patton and C. Robinson] (Richmond, 1849, 1860, 1873, 1886).

W. W. Henning's *Statutes at Large, 1619–1792* (N. Y., Richmond, and Philad., 1819–23, in thirteen volumes).

Calendar of Virginia State Papers, 1652–1800. Seven volumes are published, and an eighth is ready for the press.

Something has been said in another place[7] of the depredations which have been made upon the public records of Virginia. To Arnold's raid in 1781 is to be traced the loss of those of Henrico County. They have in the State Library the journal of the Committee of Safety, June 5 to July 5, 1776; of the Council, July 12, 1776, to May 29, 1777; June 2, 1777, to Dec. 31, 1778; Nov. 12, 1782, to Oct. 30, 1783, and the journal of the Commissioners of the Virginia Navy, 1776–79.

Recent searches of Mr. William Wirt Henry make it certain that there still exist the letters to and from the Virginia Committee of Correspondence, a large portion of their journal, as well as the journals of the assemblies and conventions which sat during the Revolution, some of which were published, and the executive journals from 1776 forward. These papers were found by Mr. Brock and examined by him and Mr. Henry in the attic of the State Capitol at Richmond. They contain additional masses of correspondence, resolutions, petitions, rough bills, executive communications, including letters from Washington and other officers, American and French, of the Revolutionary army; journals of the Conventions of 1788, 1829–30, etc.; journals of the House of Burgesses, 1765–1775; a narrative of G. R. Clark's Expedition, with documents pertaining to his life. Mr. Moncure D. Conway has also examined them.

There is in the *Sparks MSS.* (no. lxxi.) a volume of *Selections from the papers in the Council Chamber, in Virginia, 1773–1796*, which were copied in 1826,[8] and some, perhaps many, of the originals have since disappeared. Some are still in the Virginia Archives, with a duplicate of Sparks' copy.

There are in the *Sparks MSS.* (no. xliii., vols. ii. and iv.) copies of the official correspondence of the royal governors of Virginia with the home government (1764–1774), including Lord Botecourt's instructions, 1768, "copied from the records of the Privy Council Office, 1840;" and minutes of the Board of Trade (1768–

[1] App. B, vol. i. p. 435.

[2] Letter of O. H. Williams, Sept., 1886.

[3] A portrait of Williams is also in the society's gallery. There is an engraving of him in McSherry's *Maryland*, as also one of another Revolutionary soldier, John Eager Howard.

[4] Mr. Alexander Brown announces for publication the *Genesis of the United States*, a collection of documents elucidating the movement in England, 1605–1616, for the planting of Virginia, or the region from 34° to 45° North lat. in North America, between the French and Spanish possessions. Mr. Brown informs me that he will print about 400 documents, 300 of which are new in an American book, and that he uses in his notes 250 others, dated between 1617 and 1626. He considers the most important of these last, those which present, as opposed to the records of the Virginia Company (1619–24), the views of the Sandys-Southampton and Smyth-Warwick factions.

[5] Cf. *ante*, III. 160; V. 275.

[6] Cf. H. B. Grigsby's *Virginia Convention of 1776, with characters of its members* (Richmond, 1855). Cf. *Hist. Mag.* i. 159; and Henry A. Washington's *Virginia Constitution of 1776* (Richmond, 1852).

[7] *Ante*, Vol. III. p. 159, etc.; V. 278.

[8] On the Virginia Committee of Safety, see *South Atlantic Mag.* (Baltimore), Oct., 1881.

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1771); also (no. xxxviii.) papers relating to Lord Dunmore's operations, 1773–1776, which have been printed in the *Aspinwall Papers*, vol. ii. There are occasional letters of Dunmore in the *Trumbull MSS.*

The Aspinwall Papers, printed in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, xxxix., contain documents relative to the early history of the colony.

Copies of the papers of Col. Theodorick Bland, who had charge of the Convention troops in Virginia, are among the *Sparks MSS.* (no. xli.) They were found in an out-house at Cawson House in 1833, mouldy and rat-eaten, and were in the main published under the editing of Charles Campbell in the *Bland Papers, being a selection from the MSS. of Colonel Theodoric Bland, Jr.* (Petersburg, 1840), in two volumes.

The papers of Col. William Cabell of Union Hill, with others (1735–1822) illustrating the settlement and growth of that part of Virginia, are in the hands of Mr. Alexander Brown of Norwood, Nelson County, Virginia.

The history of the papers of Gov. Dinwiddie has been already traced.[1]

In a report of the librarian of the New York Hist. Soc.,[2] the Gates papers were described, in 1847, as consisting of twenty-two volumes, with a large mass of less important papers unbound. In these last there was the bulk of four volumes to be added to the twenty-two, not counting the unarranged drafts of Gates' own letters, which would extend the complete collection to about thirty volumes, and make about six thousand separate papers in all. They were bequeathed by Gates to Joel Barlow.[3]

Some portion of Gates' papers is also in the collection of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet of New York, a part of which was published in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Oct., 1880. There are occasional letters in the *Trumbull MSS.* Copies of some of the papers are in the *Sparks MSS.* (nos. xxii., xxxix.)

The *Papers, military and political, 1775–1778, of George Gilmer, M. D., of Pen Park, Albemarle County, Va.*, have been printed in the *Va. Hist. Soc. Collections*, new series, vi. (Richmond, 1887).

The papers of Patrick Henry descended to his youngest son, thence to the present William Wirt Henry of Richmond, who is now preparing a life of his grandfather. The papers include a considerable correspondence with Richard Henry Lee, and some correspondence with Washington, Mason, Gates, Henry Lee, Lafayette, and others. They were in large part copied at one time for the Virginia Historical Society, but the copy is not now to be found.[4]

The papers of Arthur Lee have been divided, and are scattered in three different depositories. When Lee became agent of Massachusetts, he received the papers of his predecessor in that office, and thus was possessed of many documents intimately connected with the Revolutionary struggle in that province. His position as London agent of Congress and diplomatic representative on the Continent naturally induced the accumulation in his hands of a great number of important papers. While possessed by Richard Henry Lee, they were used in the preparation of a life of his grandfather, *Memoir of Richard Henry Lee, and his Correspondence with distinguished men in America and Europe* (Philad., 1825, in two volumes);[5] and later he published a memoir of his grand-uncle, *The Life of Arthur Lee, with his political and literary Correspondence* (Boston, 1829, in two volumes).[6] The papers, apparently before the publication of the latter book, were divided somewhat unequally into three portions, as already stated, and with so little judgment that series of documents were broken, and many papers illustrative of one another found ultimately deposits widely apart. On July 24, 1827, he gave one portion to the library of Harvard College, and presumably at about the same date the remaining two portions were placed respectively with the University of Virginia and with the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia. Those in Harvard College library are now bound in eight volumes, and probably contain about 2,000 distinct papers. A *Calendar* of them was printed in 1882, as No. 8 of the *Bibliographical Contributions* of that library. Those belonging to the University of Virginia were loosely arranged in bundles when inspected by the present writer, but have since been put into better order. In 1858 some of them were printed in the *Southern Literary Messenger*, and during the recent war the originals were committed to a gentleman for safe-keeping, and were lost sight of, but were recovered in 1870. The portion in Philadelphia is bound in two volumes, and is not so extensive as the other two.

Various letters of Lee, and others largely illustrating his captious and suspicious disposition in his dealings with Silas Deane, are among the *Sparks MSS.* (no. xxxii., vol. ii.), most of them copied "from a book in the state department." Occasional letters are found among the *Trumbull MSS.* (vol. ix., etc.)

The papers of General Charles Lee are in the library of the New York Historical Society, and have been printed in vols. iv., v., and vi. of their *Publication Fund Series* (1871–1873); vol. iv. (1754–1776); v. (1776–1778); and vi. (1778–1782).[7]

Sparks, in the preface to the *Life of Charles Lee*, which he wrote for his *American Biography*, vol. xvii., says that the papers of Lee fell, after Lee's death, into the hands of William Goddard, and were later preserved by the family of that gentleman, who never carried out his purpose of publishing a part of them.

[1] Cf. *ante*, V. 281, 572.

[2] *Proc.*, 1847, p. 60.

[3] *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, 1867, p. 255.

[4] Alexander H. Everett wrote the *Life of Patrick Henry* in Sparks' *Amer. Biog.*, vol. xi., and Moses Coit Tyler had assistance from the papers in his more recent Life of Henry.

[5] *Letters and other Writings of Madison*, iii. 366.

[6] A preface of a merely rhetorical character conveys no information respecting the papers. The two biographies are in fact badly constructed, and unsatisfactory in the use of the materials employed.

[7] The *Sparks MSS.*, nos. xxv., xxvi., and lii., vol. iii., contain such as Sparks copied in 1845, etc.

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Sparks (1846) used the letter-books and other papers; and Sir Henry Bunbury, who also published a *Memoir of Lee* (1838), furnished Sparks with copies of Lee's letters to his sister.[1]

A considerable part of the volume known as E. Langworthy's *Memoirs of the Life of the late Charles Lee, Esq.* (London, 1792; Dublin, 1792; London, 1797, with an appendix called "Anecdotes," etc.; New York, 1813, etc.), is made up of his correspondence.[2]

The papers of Gen. Morgan were offered for sale in New Orleans in 1879.

The papers of George Mason are furnishing material for a publication now in preparation at Alexandria, Va.[3]

The Virginia Historical Society, beside having the papers of Governors Spottswood[4] and Dinwiddie and lesser collections which it has printed, has also other store of manuscript material concerning the history of the State and colony yet to be printed. This includes papers of the Lee, Ludwell, Adams, Cooke, and Massie families, beside various orderly-books of the Revolution, and a MS. history of Virginia by Edmund Randolph. Mr. Brock has examined the sources of Virginian history in the Introduction to vol. vii. of the *Virginia Hist. Soc. Collections.* Dr. Philip Slaughter and Mr. Powhatan Moncure have some of the early Parish registers.

The papers of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe have already been described.

NORTH CAROLINA. — The action of the later authorities of North Carolina respecting their records is very satisfactory. Of the first half century of the colony's existence scarce anything remains of its original records. From 1664 to 1712 there is nothing pertaining to the executive department. From 1665 to 1754 there are no records of the Assembly except a fragmentary journal of 1715. The dependence to supply these deficiencies has been upon the record offices of England, and Chalmers was seemingly the earliest to explore them for such material, and he appears to have thwarted Williamson, who attempted to follow him in such a quest. In 1827, Hon. Albert Gallatin, then minister in London, in response to a request of the North Carolina Assembly, caused a list of documents in the office of the Board of Trade and Plantations, relating to North Carolina, to be made, but it was at that time expected that Col. Force would print the documents in his *Archives.* The list itself was finally printed by the Legislature in 1843. Later attempts were made to get copies of such documents in 1849, 1855, and 1857; and in 1859 Dr. Hawks and Hon. D. L. Swain were directed to publish two volumes of the documentary history of the State. Other efforts in 1861 were abortive, owing to the coming on of the Civil War. In 1881, a new attempt to publish the records was instituted; but the commission entrusted with the work asked the legislature to authorize them to fill the gaps then existing by obtaining transcripts from London. This completion of the files was entrusted to M. W. Noel Sainsbury of the Record Office in London, and as a result the publication was begun at Raleigh, in 1886, of a series of large octavo volumes, under the direction mainly of the Hon. W. L. Saunders, secretary of state, and called *The Colonial Records of North Carolina.* The volumes thus far issued are: Vol. I., 1662–1712; Vol. II., 1713–1728; Vol. III., 1728–1734; Vol. IV., 1734–1752; Vol. V., 1752–1759; Vol. VI., 1759–1765.

The sources depended on have been the British Public Record Office, — the colonial entry books, colonial papers, Shaftesbury Papers, those of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, of the Board of Trade and its proprietors and journals, of the plantations-general, and the series "America and West Indies." Occasionally printed documents are reproduced, and such records as are preserved in the State are availed of. Each volume is preceded by an historical sketch.

The original MS. of the Journal of the Assembly of North Carolina, Apr. 4–7, 1775, devoted mainly to the address of Gov. Martin and the reply of the Assembly, is in the Boston Public Library, where is also the MS. Journal of the Provincial Congress of North Carolina, Aug. 25, 1774, to Sept. 10, 1775.

In the *Sparks MSS.* (no. xxxvi.) there is a selection from the papers in the office of the secretary of state in North Carolina, made in 1836, including Journals of the Assembly (1762–1775); of the first provincial convention (1774–1775); of the Provincial Congress (1775–1776), partly printed;[5] of the Council of Safety, 1776. Sparks adds of the records of the Congress of 1776, "This journal was printed. The original is not found in the secretary's office. Public documents of the colonial assemblies were printed in the *North Carolina Gazette*, published at Newbern. There is no evidence that the journals of the Provincial Council and the Council of Safety were printed." The Sparks volume also includes the correspondence of Gov. Caswell, 1777–1779. The Hon. W. L. Saunders, Secretary of State, Raleigh, tells me that Sparks was in error in supposing that the journals of both Congresses of 1776 were not in the Secretary's office; or at least they are there now (1889). Mr. Saunders also tells me there were five of these provincial bodies: 1, *Convention*, Newbern, Aug. 25, 1774. 2, *Convention*, Newbern, April 3, 1775. 3, *Congress*, Hillsboro', Aug. 20, 1775. 4, *Congress*, Halifax, April 4, 1776. 5, *Congress*, Halifax, Nov. 12, 1776. He adds, that in the Secretary's office is a MS. volume containing the journals of all five bodies, except of that which began Nov. 12, 1776, as

[1] Cf. Sparks' *Washington*, ix. 108; his *Corresp. of the Rev.*, iv. 105.

[2] There is a paper on Lee by J. E. Cooke in *Harper's Monthly*, xvii., and a sketch in Headley's *Washington and his Generals.*

[3] Cf. *Madison's Works*, iii. 605, for his opinion that Mason left scant material for his fame.

[4] See *ante*, V. 281.

[5] *Journal of Proceedings, Halifax, Apr. 4, 1776* (Newbern, 1776); reprinted (Raleigh, 1831).

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well as those of the Provincial Council and Council of Safety, which exercised the power of government in the intervals. In the same office is the original journal of the Board of War, 1780–81; that of the Convention which ratified the Federal Constitution in 1789; a large mass of Revolutionary correspondence, in part local.

Sparks caused extracts to be made in 1829 from Gov. Tryon's letter-book,[1] when it was in the possession of Obadiah Rich, and this letter-book (Oct., 1764-June, 1771) with a copy of the journals of the Council were bought by Henry Stevens for Harvard College in 1845, and a copy of it was made in 1856 for the State of North Carolina. Stevens says that on comparing the book with the correspondence in the State Paper Office, he found it fuller in some parts.

It appears by a message of Gov. Graham of North Carolina (Jan. 8, 1847) that no letter-books of the executive of that State had been preserved in his office between 1776 and 1784, but that by efforts directed by the legislature he had secured copies, in two folio volumes, of the letters of Gov. Burke between 1776 and 1780; that the papers of Gov. Caswell had been discovered in the office of the Secretary of State; that but few of the papers of Governors Nash and Martin had been obtained, but that such as had been found pertained to the British invasion of 1780–81. He further recommended the publication of the journals of the Provincial Congresses and Committees of Safety (1774–1776), and of the Board of War. The archives were partly burned in 1831. In the Governor's office there are at present copies of the following letter-books, extending beyond their respective official terms: Gov. Caswell, 1777–1787; Gov. Burke, 1774–1781; Gov. Martin, 1782–1785.

There are in the *Sparks MSS.* (xliii., vols. ii. and iv.) copies of the correspondence of the royal governors of North Carolina with the home government (1764–1774), and minutes of the Board of Trade (1762). In *Ibid.* no. xlix., vol. i. p. 19, etc., there are memoranda from the records in the public offices made in 1826.

The *Proceedings of the Committee of Safety of Wilmington, N. C.*, 1774–1776, were printed at Raleigh in 1844. The original is in the office of the Secretary of State, as are also the proceedings of the Committees of Rowan, Surry, and Pitt counties, and of the District of Newbern.

The earlier laws of this period are in *A Collection of all the public acts of the Assembly of the Province of North Carolina and C. Newbern* (1752) — made by Samuel Swann for the Assembly; a similar *Collection*, made by James Davis (1755), and *A Complete Revisal of all the Acts of the Assembly of the Province of North Carolina, with marginal notes and references* (Newbern, 1773).

The *Laws of North Carolina, published by J. Iredell* (Edenton, 1791), was reissued as *Public Acts of North Carolina, vol. i. 1715–1790, now revised by F. X. Martin* (Newbern, 1804).

SOUTH CAROLINA. — The public records in the State House at Columbia were removed — all of them, it was then thought — before the destruction which ensued upon the entrance of Sherman's army in 1865; but there is some doubt upon this point.[2] Some early records and loose papers were certainly destroyed.

Such papers as belonged to the Charleston library were sent to Columbia during the war, and escaped destruction then, but I get no satisfactory account of them since. The manuscripts of the South Carolina Historical Society were also sent to Columbia, but the Revolutionary papers in that society's library consist of little more than the Journal of the Council of Safety (printed in their *Collections*, ii. 22; iii. 35), with an unarranged mass of the correspondence of the Council (chiefly of 1776).

There are in the *Sparks MSS.* (xliii., vol. ii.) copies of the correspondence of the royal governors of South Carolina with the home government (1763–1774), and copies (no. xxxvi.) of various papers in the Secretary's office, made in 1826. These last include Council journals, legislative papers (1773–1776), and journals of the Assembly (1768, 1769–1772, 1782–1783).

The manuscript journals of the House of Representatives of the Revolutionary period and the manuscript acts of the legislature are still preserved.[3] The Journal of the Provincial Congress of 1775 is printed in Force's *Amer. Archives*, 4th ser., i. 1109–1118. The MS. journals are complete from 1721, and fragmentary after 1705.

The Shaftesbury papers in the Public Record Office in London are rich in material for early South Carolina history. The only considerable use made of them is in J. A. Doyle's *Maryland and the Carolinas*. The city of Charleston has caused some of these Shaftesbury papers to be copied,[4] and in the *Charleston Year Book* for 1886 some letters written by the colonists are printed as "A relation of the voyage of the Colonists, who sailed from the Thames in August, 1669, via Kinsale, Ireland, and the Barbadoes, visiting Port Royal, and finally settling on Ashley River, where they founded Charles Town."

The collection of the laws are these: —

Public Laws to 1790, ed. by J. F. Grimké (Philad., 1790).

Statutes at Large of South Carolina, ed. by T. Cooper and D. J. McCord (Columbia, 1836–1841). Vol. iv. covers 1752–1786; vol. ix. contains militia acts; vol. x. is a general index.

John C. Calhoun is said not to have had careful habits with his papers, and of those that were left by him a portion was destroyed in the Civil War.[5]

William Henry Drayton collected papers while in Congress, and when he died at Philadelphia, Sept. 3, 1779, he left a manuscript in two volumes about the early Revolutionary movements in South Carolina (1773–1776).

[1] *Sparks MSS.*, no. lxviii.

[2] Cf. *ante*, Vol. V. 356.

[3] Letter, Sept. 27, 1886, of J. W. Lipscomb. secretary of state.

[4] Cf. *ante*, Vol. V. p. 306.

[5] Von Holst's *Calhoun*, p. 5.

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It is said that many of his papers were destroyed as containing many secrets of state. Of what escaped, his son, John Drayton, made use in his *Memoirs of the American Revolution from its commencement to 1776, as relating to South Carolina and occasionally referring to North Carolina and Georgia* (Charleston, 1821, in two vols.).[1]

The collection formed by R. W. Gibbes, *Documentary History of the American Revolution, consisting of letters and papers relating to the contest for liberty, chiefly in South Carolina, from originals in the possession of the editor*, is in three volumes, issued in this order: vol. i., 1764–1776 (New York, 1855); vol. ii., 1776–1782 (New York, 1857); vol. iii., 1781–1782 (Columbia, S. C., 1853). The originals here referred to, together with such other documents as he had not printed, were burned with Gibbes' house in Columbia during Sherman's march.

The papers of Gen. Peter Horry have afforded material to Weems, James, and Simms in writing their lives of Francis Marion, and contain letters of Lincoln and Greene. The most extensive use of them is by Gibbes in his *Documentary History of the American Revolution.*

The main body of the Laurens papers is in the keeping of the Long Island Historical Society, which bought them of William Gilmore Simms. Sedgwick, in 1833, in his *Life of William Livingston*, used them when they were in the possession of Edward R. Laurens of South Carolina. Three volumes are filled with the correspondence of Henry Laurens, and an additional volume constitutes his letter-book.[2] One large folio contains the letters of Col. John Laurens, part of which have been printed by the Bradford Club.[3] The collection also contains a large number of loose letters, papers, etc. There are other Laurens papers in the Pennsylvania Historical Society's library, and among the Arthur Lee papers, as printed in Lee's *Life of R. H. Lee* (vol. ii. 233, etc.).

Mr. Frank Moore edited some of the *Laurens Correspondence*, 1776–1782, which were published as *Materials for history printed from original manuscripts, with notes and illustrations by Frank Moore, first series* (New York, printed for the Zenger Club, 1861).[4]

William Moultrie's *Memoirs of the Amer. Revolution*, as far as it related to the States of North and South Carolina and Georgia (New York, 1802), is largely made up of documents and public letters.

The General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney papers are not preserved in large numbers. There are letter-books, chiefly of a later day, in the South Carolina Historical Society, and a considerable mass is said to be in the possession of the Rev. C. C. Pinckney. These were used by Trescot in his *Diplomacy*, who also had access to those of Gen. Thomas Pinckney.

The Rutledge papers are said to have been destroyed with the family plantation house, many years ago. The collection which William G. Simms had formed was burned with his house in 1865.

GEORGIA. — The records of Georgia were lodged, after the fall of Savannah in 1778, in Charleston, till, when that city was threatened, they were carried to Newbern, N. C.; and were still further removed, under new dangers, to Maryland, whence such as had not disappeared were returned to Georgia after the conclusion of peace (C. C. Jones's *Georgia*, ii. 441).

There are in the *Sparks MSS.* (xliii., vols. ii. and iv.) copies of the correspondence of the royal governors of Georgia with the home government (1766–1774); and in *Ibid.* (no. lix.) the records of the Executive Council, 1775 and 1776, and of the Council of Safety, 1776; also of the Council, 1777–1780; with letters mainly of Gen. Greene, 1781–1783, and Gen. Wayne, 1782.

Perhaps the largest of the private collections of historical papers gathered in Georgia, that of Mr. Tefft of Savannah, was some years since dispersed. The chief private collection at present is that of Col. C. C. Jones, jr.

It is stated in Miller's *Bench and Bar of Georgia* that General Blackshear left papers of interest in elucidating the war of 1812 in the South.

WEST OF THE ALLEGHANIES. — Theodore Roosevelt, in his *Winning of the West* (N. Y., 1889), in two volumes, in his preface enumerates the collections of papers which he found of importance in tracing the history of the Western country from 1769 to 1783, — particularly the papers in the Department of State, vols. 33 and 49 of those marked *Letters to Washington*, containing many from George Rogers Clark; the *Correspondence, etc., of General James Robertson*, 1784–1814, belonging to the University of Nashville; the *Campbell MSS.*, belonging to Lemuel R. Campbell of Nashville, and elucidating Dunmore's War, the struggle with the Cherokees, the battle of King's Mountain, etc.; papers in the library of the Tennessee Historical Society, consisting of those of Sevier, Jackson, Donelson, Hawkins, and others; manuscripts in the library of Col. Reuben T. Durrett of Louisville, embracing the papers and an autobiography of Isaac Shelby, manuscript

[1] *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1878, p. xiii. The portrait and house of W. H. Drayton are given in *Harper's Monthly*, lii. p. 1.

[2] There is a Henry Laurens letter-book in the South Carolina Historical Society, but it contains business letters mostly.

[3] *The army correspondence of Col. John Laurens, 1777–1778, now first printed from original letters addressed to his father, Henry Laurens, with a Memoir by W. G. Simms* (N. Y., 1857), being no. vii. of the series. Some of the letters of John Laurens are in the *Sparks MSS.*, no. lii., vol. iii.

[4] There were 250 copies printed. Sabin says the club had no existence.

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journals of the Rev. James Smith's two tours in the Western country (1785 and 1795), some of the papers of Daniel Boone, of Kentucky, and of George Rogers Clark, notes on Kentucky by George Bradford, who settled there in 1779, a copy of the record book of Col. John Todd, the first governor of the Illinois country, after Clark's conquest, the papers and sketches of Robert McAfee, and the autobiography of Rev. William Hickman, who visited Kentucky in 1776; copies of the correspondence of the Spanish minister Gardoqui, drawn from the Spanish archives, and owned by Col. John Mason Brown of Louisville; the Breckenridge MSS., at Lexington, Ky., belonging to Ethelbert D. Warfield; the Clay papers, owned by Mrs. Lucretia Hart Clay; and the Blount MSS., owned by the Hon. W. D. Stephens of Los Angeles, California.

Of the collection of papers in the Northwest, that of Lyman C. Draper of Madison is probably one of the most important, and is probably the largest in private hands west of the Alleghanies. He possesses the papers of Gen. George Rogers Clark, and has amassed much concerning the history of Joseph Brant, Daniel Boone, Robertson, Simon Kenton, Sumter, Sevier, Brady, Tecumseh, and the Wetzels.

The Pioneer and Historical Society of Michigan has drawn upon the Canadian archives and the Haldimand Papers for the material relative to the early history of their State, which is found in volume ix. and later volumes of their *Collections*.

The Wisconsin Historical Society, as its secretary, Mr. R. G. Thwaites, informs me, has 115 folio volumes of MSS., beside account books and journals, chiefly relating to the fur trade, Indian affairs, and early settlements of the Northwest, particularly of Wisconsin. In addition to these, it has a number of miscellaneous MS. volumes covering a wider field.

Mention has been made elsewhere[1] of the leading historical societies of the Northwest, in which such papers as exist pertaining to this region are mainly gathered. The Chicago, Western Reserve, and Minnesota Historical Societies have small manuscript collections. O. H. Marshall has an Index Rerum to subjects connected with early Western history, referring to original sources, in his *Historical Writings* (1887).

The papers of Andrew Jackson are now the subject of litigation;[2] and those of the later leading men of the Western States, like Henry Clay, are described elsewhere.[3] The Lewis Cass papers have also been described (*ante*, V. p. 561).

A statement is made in another place of what was done by the State of Louisiana to secure the documentary evidences of its history (*ante*, V. p. 74) and of the disappearance of most of it. The Editor saw (May, 1889) what there was left of them in the keeping of Tulane University at New Orleans.

III. FOREIGN ARCHIVES.

1. ENGLISH AND CANADIAN. — As early as 1617 King James had projected a State Paper Office;[4] but the Public Records Act, under which the British Archives are now regulated, was passed in 1837 (assented to by Victoria, Aug., 1838), and thus there became, instead of many scattered and unsafe repositories, one Public Record Office, under the supervision of the Master of the Rolls.[5] In 1850 the present building of the Record Office was begun. In 1875 it was reported as practically filled, and in 1877 an Act gave to the archivists discretionary power, but subject to many checks, for destroying useless papers, of which very large masses were supposed to have accumulated.

To this office papers not currently needed in all departments of the government are periodically sent. As different departments take different views of the date back of which their papers become of little current use,

[1] *Ante*, Vol. IV. 198.

[2] *Ante*, VII. 349.

[3] *Ante*, Vol. VII.

[4] Cf. Brymner's *Report on the Canadian Archives*, 1881.

[5] Thomas's *Handbook of the Public Records*. Cf. *ante*, III. 343. The officer of the Public Records Office most familiar with the papers in it relating to America is Mr. W. Noel Sainsbury. Mr. Bancroft has said of him (*No. Carolina Col. Records*, i. p. vii), "My own collection of documents is full of copies of papers which he has made for me. Having been so long in service, and so much appealed to by American scholars, he has become thoroughly familiar with the subject, as may be seen from his *Colonial Series of State Papers*." The Master of the Rolls began in 1856 to make systematic publication of synopses or abstracts of the papers in his charge under the general title of *Calendar of State Papers*, etc., and down to 1886 one hundred and thirty-four volumes had been printed, divided as follows: —

Domestic Series: Edward VI to Charles I, 1547–1641 (1856–82), 29 vols.; during the Commonwealth, 1649–60 (1875–86), 13 vols.; Charles II, 1660–67 (1860–6), 7 vols.; Relating to Ireland, 1171–1307 (1875–86), 5 vols.; 1509–1592 (1860–85), 4 vols.; 1603–1625 (1872–80), 5 vols.; Relating to Scotland, 1509–1603 (1858), 2 vols.; Home Office Papers, of the reign of George III, 1760–1772 (1878–81), 3 vols.; Calendar of Treasury Papers, 1557–1719 (1868–83), 5 vols.; Colonial Series, 1513–1668 (1880), 6 vols.; Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, 1509–1535 (1886), 14 vols.; Foreign Series, Edward VI–Elizabeth, 1547–77 (1861–80), 13 vols.; Relating to Spain, preserved in the Archives at Simancas and elsewhere, 1485–1536 (1862–86), 9 vols.; Venetian, 1202–1558 (1864–1884), 8 vols.; Carew Papers, 1515–1624 (1867–73), 6 vols.; Calendarium Genealogicum, Henry III–Edward I (1865), 2 vols.; Syllabus in English of Rymer's *Fœdera*, 1066–1654, with Index and Appendix (1869–85), 3 vols.

The most important group for the American student is the Colonial Series, though some of the others throw occasional light, and the series relating to Spain and Venice are not without interest for the earliest years of American discovery. Since this enumeration was made, another volume of the *Calendar of State Papers, America and the West Indies, 1669–1674*, has been published; but too late to be availed of in the present work. It is a new evidence of the ways of Mr. Sainsbury, in securing the gratitude of American historical students.

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the latest papers now in the Public Record Office vary in date from 1840 to 1860, accordingly. The limit later than which general access to papers is not permitted varies, according to the character of the papers, from 1760 to 1820; but it is possible, under influence and with restrictions and reservations, to examine later papers.[1]

In 1869 it was decided by Parliament to have searches made in collections of papers outside the Public Record Office, and to this end a Royal Historical Manuscripts Commission was established, to examine and report upon semi-public and family archives, in cases where access might be allowed. One essential result of the progress of this work has been that families possessing historical papers have in some cases transferred them to public depositories.[2] The commission was reconstituted under a new royal warrant, March 24, 1886.

The *First Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* was published in London in 1870, but nothing of special moment touching American history appeared till, in the *Second Report* (1871),[3] the papers of the Earl of Cathcart[4] were calendared, in which we find much relating to Carteret and New Jersey; the papers of the Duke of Bedford; those of Andrew Elliot, collector of New York, 1778–83, his letters from New York, 1781–89; letters of Sir Henry Clinton, 1780–81; American war papers, 1778–82; and the American papers of the quartermaster-general, 1780–82. In the *Third Report* (1872) we find (p. 108) the papers on the American war (1775–80) preserved among the Northumberland manuscripts at Alnwick Castle; a great deal of importance respecting the Southern colonies in the Shaftesbury Papers (cf. *ante*, V. 356); something in those in the Dr. Williams Library, and in those of the House of Lords, which are continued in the Fourth and Seventh Reports.

In the *Fourth Report* (1874) there is (p. 397, etc.) the address of the Sons of Liberty of Boston, June 6, 1768, signed by Benjamin Kent, Thomas Young, Benjamin Church, Jr., John Adams, and Joseph Warren; and another address of Oct. 5, 1768. There are other letters of 1768–1770, from Kent, Wm. Palfrey, and Samuel Adams; and a series of letters (1769–1784) from Charleston, S. C. The papers of the Marquis of Bath, Earl de la Warre, and others are included in this Report.

The very important Shelburne papers had been arranged for the Marquis of Lansdowne by Sir James Lacaita, and in 1870 Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, a grandson of Shelburne, went through the mass to prepare a report and partial calendar for the Commission, the portion of which relating to the American war will be found in their *Fifth Report* (1876), — the same papers which Bancroft had examined at an earlier day (*Hist. United States*, final revision, iii. 484; cf. also *ante*, Vol. VII. 167). The letters of George III to Shelburne were found at Bowood subsequent to the time when Mr. Bancroft examined the papers (*Life of Shelburne*, i. p. xi), but they were later shown to him, and Bancroft in turn placed at Fitzmaurice's service his own notes from the Shelburne papers when Fitzmaurice was preparing the *Life of William, Earl of Shelburne* (London, 1873–76, in three volumes), which was based upon the Shelburne, Fox, and Bute papers, — the Fox papers being then in the possession of Lady Holland, and the Bute manuscripts in charge of Lord Harrowby. The Shelburne papers began as early as 1686. (Cf. *ante*, V. 164, 356.) This report also contains the Cholmondeley papers. In the *Sixth Report* (1877) there are the Strachey Papers (described pp. xiv, xv). In the *Seventh Report* are the papers of the Earl of Egmont (1709–30), covering letters of Bishop Berkeley, many of them written from Rhode Island. We learn here, too, something of Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia. In the *Eighth Report* (1881,

[1] Alexander Brown, in his *Genesis of the United States*, has made use of some of the earlier colonial papers. Papers, 1748–63, from the Public Record Office are among the Parkman transcripts in the Mass. Hist. Society. (Cf. *ante*, V. 617.) The papers called the Quebec Series throw much light on the border warfare of the colonies. There are in the *Sparks MSS.* (no. xliii. vol. iii.) a series of transcripts made by Sparks in 1840 from the volumes in the Public Record Office marked "Military Correspondence, vols. i. to x." (1763–1774), which include letters of Gage, Halifax, H. S. Conway. Shelburne, Hillsborough, Hutchinson, Dartmouth, Haldimand; and Sparks copied earlier (1829) a similar volume of transcripts (no. lviii.).

There is also (no. xxxii.) a collection of extracts from the correspondence of Dartmouth, Germain, Gage, Howe, Clinton, and Cornwallis; and in *Ibid.* no. xxv., he copied, as found among the Ward Papers, various letters of Conway, Barré, Shelburne, and others, for the years 1765–1766.

In no. lv. there is a series of papers relating to attempted negotiations between England and the United States (1776–1779), which were copied for Sparks under the direction of John G. Palfrey, at the State Paper Office, in 1856, as well as selections and memoranda made by Sparks himself (no. lvi.) in the public offices of London and Paris and in the British Museum.

Copies of the correspondence of Lord Grantham, English ambassador to Spain, 1776–1779, in two vols., are also in the *Sparks MSS.* (no. xxiii.), as well as the correspondence of Lord Stormont, British ambassador in France (1776–1778), in two volumes (no. lxi.), — both from the State Paper Office, — and that (no. lxxii.) of Sir Joseph Yorke in Holland (Jan., 1776–Dec., 1780). Cf. on these diplomatic series, *ante*, Vol. VII. 68, 73, 165; and *Amer. Antiq. Soc. Proc.*, Oct., 1858.

For papers in the War Office on the war in Canada (1812, etc.), see *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 427; and for those at Ottawa, see Brymner's *Report*, 1881, p. 12.

[2] Cf. on the Commission, *The Month*, lx. p. 44. The First Report was printed in 1870, and reprinted in 1874 (Sessional Paper, C. 55); the Second, 1871; Third, 1872; Fourth, 1873; Fifth, 1876; Sixth, 1877; Seventh, 1879; Eighth, 1881; Ninth, 1883; Tenth, 1885; Eleventh, 1887. A Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquis of Salisbury was also issued separately in 1883. Great care is taken by the Commission that private papers, or legal documents affecting titles, should not be examined, and no report on papers is published without the consent of the owner of the papers. Nearly all the larger collections have been readily and temporarily transferred by their owners to the Public Record Office, to facilitate the examination.

I am indebted for this and other information of the work of the Commission to H. C. Maxwell Lyte, Esq., deputy keeper of the Records, Rolls House, London.

[3] This volume has one index for Reports 1 and 2. Later Reports have each an index.

[4] Cf. *ante*, Vol. V. 604, for the use which has been made of this material.

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p. 287) are the Cornwallis papers, belonging to Lord Braybrook, but deposited in the Public Record Office. Here also are the papers of the Duke of Manchester. In the *Ninth Report* (part iii., 1884) are the papers of Mrs. Stopford Sackville (pp. 81–118), of Drayton House, Northamptonshire, which throw some new light on the views and conduct of the British generals and ministry during the American Revolution; and a few letters of Count Rumford during his service in the field in 1781 (pp. 118–120). In the *Tenth Report*, the calendar of the Weston Papers (App., p. 228) shows the treaty of April 3, 1764, made by Sir Wm. Johnson and the Senecas, and those of July 18 (p. 231) with the Hurons, of Aug. 6 (p. 232) with the Chenusio Indians; also a letter of Gen. Gage, dated New York, Sept. 21, 1764, on the Indian treaties and movements against them, is printed (App., pp. 236, 382). The Westmoreland papers in this Report supplement the Sackville papers in the Ninth Report.[1]

In the *Eleventh Report* a good deal of light is thrown on the final campaigns for the conquest of Canada in the manuscripts of the Marquess Townshend (App., part iv.), including letters of Gen. Murray. Here also are the papers of the Earl of Dartmouth (App., part v.). Much light is shed on early Carolina history.

The manuscript collections of the British Museum are now supposed to contain somewhat over five million separate papers, making something short of 50,000 volumes. Up to about fifty years ago these manuscripts as acquired were arranged under the distinctive appellations belonging to them, and may be enumerated thus (with the date of acquisition): Cottonian (1753), 900 vols.; Harleian (1753), 7,639 vols.; Royal (1753), 1,950 vols.; Lansdowne (1807), 1,245 vols.; Hargrave (1813), 499 vols.; Burney (1817), 524 vols.; King's (1823), 438 vols.; Egerton (1829), 2,568 vols.; Arundel (1831), 550 vols. After 1831 the accessions have been arranged in one series, called "Additional Manuscripts," and including the Sloane Collection, 4,000 vols. This later classification contained, in 1881, 31,380 volumes. Though there are papers of much interest in the King's, Egerton,[2] and the other earlier collections, it is among these Additional Manuscripts, in the Haldimand Papers, that we find the richest stores pertaining to the American Revolution. These Haldimand Papers are embraced in 232 volumes, covering the years 1758–1785, mainly in Canada, though an interval was passed by Haldimand in Florida. These papers, catalogued in the printed *Index to MSS. in the Brit. Mus.* (London, 1880), p. 679, are marked as having been acquired between 1854 and 1875,[3] and are called *Official Correspondence and Papers of Gen. Frederick Haldimand during his various Commands, 1758–1785* (B. M. Add. MSS., nos. 21,661–21,982). They include letters of Earl Howe to Haldimand, 1778–1785 (no. 21,709); Sir William Howe's, 1778–1779, 1781 (nos. 21,734, 21,807, 21,808); Sir Henry Clinton's, 1777–1783 (nos. 21,807, 21,808); Burgoyne's, 1779–1782 (nos. 21,732, 21,733, 21,734), and Washington's, 1780–3 (in no. 21,835).

There is a volume of copies of those relating to the French war among the Parkman Papers in the Massachusetts Historical Society; but the most extensive transcripts in America is the series made from them for the Canadian government at Ottawa, which have been described in the *Reports* of the Dominion archivist Douglas Brymner.[4] In his *Report* for 1884 he has begun an elaborate calendar of the entire collection, which it is intended finally to publish separately.

The Haldimand Papers include a series of correspondence with the governors of the American colonies, 1765–1774; his correspondence with Germain and the home government, reporting on affairs in the colonies; and the minutes of the Council at Quebec, 1778–1784, beside a great variety of other important papers. It is the fullest repository which we have of the attempted negotiations for sundering Vermont from the American cause.[5]

Haldimand was a friend of Henry Bouquet (who died in 1765), and inherited his papers, so that what are known as the Bouquet Papers are a component part of the Haldimand Papers. These are also indexed in the *Catal. of MSS. in the Brit. Museum.*

[1] Cf. *ante*, Vol. VI. 516.

[2] See *ante*, III. 343. This collection contains numerous Acadia papers, *N. E. Hist. Geneal. Reg.*, April, 1886.

[3] They were mainly bequeathed to the Museum by William, nephew (or probably grand-nephew) of Gen. Haldimand. Cf. account of Haldimand by G. D. Scull in the *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, 1884, viii. p. 300, and Brymner's account of Haldimand in his *Report* for 1887.

[4] Cf. his *Report* (appended to the reports of the Commissioner of Agriculture) for 1873, 1881, and 1882.

[5] Cf. "Haldimand Papers, with contemporaneous history, 1779–1783," in *Vermont Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. ii., and the statements respecting the importance of these papers in investigating this question, as detailed in Vol. VI., *ante*. Haldimand at one time captured B. Arnold's papers. *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, viii. 309.

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Many papers supplementing the Haldimand Papers are in the Quebec series in the Public Record Office, making ten volumes, and these are noted in Brymner's *Report* for 1883, p. 79.

The papers of William Eden, who was one of the peace commissioners to this country during the Revolution, now known as the Auckland Papers, from his subsequent title, are in the University library, at Cambridge, England.[1]

There are also in the British Museum a collection of official copies of deciphered letters, 1777–1780 (*Add. MSS.*, no. 24,321), and miscellaneous papers, 1774–1783 (no. 29,237); and a Journal of Sir Wm. Howe's army in America, 1776 (*Egerton MSS.*, no. 2135, folios 7 and 9). There are topographical and graphic records of some use in *Catalogue of maps, prints, drawings, etc., forming the geographical and topographical collection attached to the library of George III. and presented by George IV. to the Museum* (London, 1829, in two volumes).

The offices of the Board of Trade or Lords of Trade were the receptacle of large numbers of American papers, and thence have come a considerable accession to various private collections. The letters of Sir Wm. Johnson, for instance, to the Lords of Trade, 1766–1767, are among the Shelburne papers (vol. li.), as noted in the *Hist. MSS. Com. Report*, v. 219.

The papers of the Board of Trade from 1696 to its dissolution in 1782, making over 2,000 large volumes, were in 1842 added to the State Paper Office.

The collection of papers amassed by George Chalmers, which have here and there increased so many large American collections, came largely from Chalmers' opportunities as secretary of the Board of Trade. Thorpe's *Catalogue, Supplement*, 1843, no. 621, embracing Chalmers' papers, show the original office copy of the minutes of the Board of Trade for Dec. 23, 1766–July 29, 1767. This volume was bought by Sparks in 1843, and is now among the *Sparks MSS.* (no. iii.)

A considerable portion of the Chalmers manuscripts came by purchase in 1843 into the hands of Sparks, and are now in the *Sparks MSS.*[2] Such of them as relate to the Revolutionary period are in no. v. and in no. xxxviii., the latter containing some of Lord Dunmore's papers, which had belonged to Chalmers, but when Sparks copied them in 1845 they belonged to Thomas Aspinwall,[3] beside a volume of original papers (no. liii.), 1752–1779.

A collection of papers, formed by Chalmers, now in the *Sparks MSS.* (no. x.), and relating to New England, covers in the main papers relating to the agitation that preceded the hostilities of 1775.

The second volume of the Aspinwall Papers, as published by the Mass. Hist. Soc. in vol. xl. of their *Collections*, — the originals of which are now in the library of the late Mr. Samuel L. M. Barlow (d. July, 1889) of New York, — cover in the main the period from 1763 to 1776, though there are a few of a later date. They came from the Chalmers collection. Some of the earlier ones are letters to Monckton after he had left his command in New York, mainly from John Watts, who had been left in charge of the general's affairs. There are other letters of Gov. Eden of Maryland, the long instructions to Lord Dunmore in 1771 and 1772, Chalmers' minutes of the official correspondence with the colonial governors in 1773–74,[4] letters of Gage to Dartmouth in 1774, Dunmore's correspondence with the home government (1774–75) and with others, and a few letters addressed to Franklin (1775).[5]

The chief military papers on the British side are those now known as the Carleton or Dorchester Papers, though perhaps more frequently referred to in America as Headquarters Papers. They begin with General Howe's assumption of command in Boston in 1775, and such documents as that officer had collected were handed over to his successor, Sir Henry Clinton, who added to them those of his own term as commander-in-chief in America; and these passing to Sir Guy Carleton, who was the last British general in chief command, were further increased in his hands, so that when arranged by his secretary, Maurice Morgan, into whose keeping they ultimately came, they next passed to John Symons of Paddington, and were by him given to the Royal Institution (1804). Sparks represents the originals as arranged in more than forty volumes; but later reports make the extent fifty-six volumes, and they are said to contain over 20,000 documents.

It would seem that Clinton failed to turn over to Carleton all of his headquarters papers, retaining, it is surmised, such as he might find useful in his own defence, if the controversy between him and Cornwallis were pushed to extremities. Such is supposed to be the history of sundry lots of Clinton's papers, which were noted in 1882 in a London auction catalogue as in the "library of the late Col. Henry Clinton," which included books and papers from his ancestors (H. P. Johnston in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, viii. 200). Among such was a letter of Washington to Clinton, with the latter's annotations, copies of André's letters to Washington and Clinton, a letter of Clinton to Lord George Germain, July, 1778, about the retreat from Philadelphia and on the battle of Monmouth, and printed copies of the Clinton-Cornwallis tracts with Clinton's annotations. There

[1] Cf. *ante*, VII. 51. A letter of Lambert Wickes, from these papers, dated at St. Malo, July 8, 1777, and giving an account of his naval exploits, is printed in the *London Athenæum*, July 14, 1888, p. 66.

[2] See the present *History*, Vol. V. pp. 352, 354.

[3] From these Aspinwall Papers there is printed in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, xxxiv. 367, "Queries of George Chalmers, with answers of Gen. Gage, in relation to Braddock's expedition, the Stamp Act, and Gage's administration of Mass. Bay."

[4] Many of the circular letters sent to the colonial governors during the early years of the controversy will be found in the *Trumbull MSS.* (vols. ii., iii., iv.), and they are usually printed in such collections as the *New Hampshire Papers*, the *New Jersey Archives*, etc.

[5] Cf. list of the Chalmers MSS., *ante*, Vol. V. 354.

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was also included, and later sent with other papers to New York to be sold at auction,[1] a collection of 20 maps, illustrating Clinton's campaign in the Jerseys, dated 1778–1782, and nearly all drawn by J. Hills, which were bought by the Library of Congress (May, 1882), and two manuscripts, one called "Private Intelligence," Jan. 20 to July, 1781 (150 pp.), and the other marked "Information of deserters and others, not included in the Private Intelligence" (100 pp.), both of which were bought by Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet of New York; and as annotated by Edw. F. De Lancy, the former of these two manuscripts has been printed in the *Magazine of Amer. Hist.* (x. 327, 409, 497; xi. 53, 156, 247, 342, 433, 533; xii. 72, 162). It proves to be one of what was probably a series of record books, kept at headquarters, in which were entered the reports and correspondence accruing under the method employed or sanctioned by Clinton for obtaining tidings in a clandestine way from the American camp. It is a revelation of the speed and accuracy which attended this secret service; and its records have been held to tarnish the reputation of men supposed at the time to be loyal, like John Sullivan, and Samuel H. Parsons,[2] and the wily Heron of Connecticut.

It is said that in the basement of the Royal Institution there is a further mass of unexamined papers, which were left out of the bound series.

There are in the *Sparks MSS.* three series of copies from these papers. One (no. xiii.) covers the correspondence of Sir Henry Clinton and Haldimand, 1779–1781; another, in two volumes (no. xlv.), is called "British Papers relating to the American Revolution, selected [Nov., 1846] from the correspondence of the British commanders-in-chief;" and a third (no. lxx.) contains papers relating to the intercourse between Canada and Vermont in 1780–1782. Sparks had the first two series copied in 1840, and the last in 1844.

Capt. Francis Duncan, who in his *History of the Royal Artillery* gave a chapter on "The Gunner who governed New York," referring to Gen. James Pattison, furnished copies of the letters of that officer, who was in command in New York from July 5, 1779, to Aug. 13, 1780, which were printed in the *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Collections*, 1875. The letters begin at New York, Jan. 10, 1779.

There is in Harvard College library, given to it by Wm. B. Sprague, D. D., of Albany, a volume of Gen. Thomas Gage's letters, addressed to Col. Bradstreet, deputy quartermaster-general, and to Sir William Johnson. They include four in 1759, written from Fort Stanwix and Oswego, and one from Montreal in 1762. After this last date they were all written from New York city, beginning Feb. 6, 1763, — those to Bradstreet ending Oct., 1769; those to Johnson, May 11, 1773. They are all originals in Gage's handwriting, and apparently came from the Bradstreet and Johnson Papers.

Many letters and despatches of Gage during 1766–1767, written from New York, are noted among the Shelburne Papers (vols. xlix., l., li.) in the *Hist. MSS. Com. Rept.*, v. 218, etc. There are occasional letters of Gage among the *Trumbull MSS.*

There are also in the British Museum various papers of Gen. Gage, like his general and regimental orders, 1759–1777; his letters to the commanding officer at Niagara, 1759–1774; his Florida papers, 1763–1774; his correspondence with Haldimand, 1758–1781, with the English ministry, 1760–1778, and with Bouquet, 1763–1765.

The papers of Chatham are nearly all in print in the *Chatham Correspondence;* but George Bancroft mentions his use of two volumes of familiar notes, full of allusions to America, which passed between Hollis and Chatham. The same historian had access to the autobiography of the third Duke of Grafton, and the journal of the Earl of Dartmouth; and he refers to some Bedford papers which were not included in the published *Bedford Correspondence.*

Bancroft also had the use of two series of letters of the king, — useful in forming an estimate of the character of George III. One contained the letters written by him early in life to his governor, Lord Harcourt. The other consisted of his frequent notes to his prime minister, North, during the period of the American troubles. These were also used by Mahon (v., App., p. xlvii), who prints some of them, saying that he followed a transcript made by Sir James Mackintosh, which later passed into the hands of Brougham. The correspondence has since been printed, edited by Donne.[3]

"The entire correspondence of Mr. Oswald, in the negotiation in the peace of 1782, with the American commissioners at Paris, copied from a manuscript volume in the possession of the Marquis of Lansdowne, London, Feb., 1829; and also the correspondence of Mr. Grenville and Fitzherbert, copied from the originals in the office of Foreign Affairs in London," is the endorsement which Sparks has put on no. xl. of the *Sparks MSS.* Letters of Grantham and Fitzherbert (1782–83) are in *Ibid.* no. xxxii. vol. i.

There are now on deposit in the Public Record Office the papers of the Duke of Manchester, which in part concern the negotiations for peace, and they have been calendared in the *Hist. MSS. Commission, Report VIII.*, part ii. pp. 17, 123, etc.

The records and correspondence of the Commission for negotiating the peace of 1782 on the part of Eng-

[1] *Catalogue of a private library; also books and papers of Sir Henry Clinton.* To be sold at auction, May 26th, 1882 (N. Y., 1882)

[2] George B. Loring has in a tract gathered the evidence which he contends removes or at least renders doubtful the implications of these British records as respects Parsons. (Cf. *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, Oct., 1888; Jan., 1889.) Unfortunately it is both difficult and easy to clarify wilful deceit, and opinions are likely to differ. Some of Mr. Loring's arguments could as well serve the opposite side.

[3] *The Correspondence of King George III. with Lord North, 1768–1783. Edited from originals at Windsor with an introduction and Notes by W. Bodham Donne* (London, 1867).

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land, with a transcript of Oswald's journal after the original among the Lansdowne Papers, are in the Stevens-Franklin collection in the Dept. of State at Washington.[1]

A catalogue of a sale by G. Robinson in London, April, 1859, shows under no. 84 six manuscript volumes of letters and documents relating to the peace, copied and arranged by David Hartley, the English commissioner.[2]

In 1882 and 1884 Mr. Benj. F. Stevens, an American, resident in London for many years, presented a plan to the United States government of securing copies of about 80,000 documents relating to the War for Independence, and between the years 1772 and 1784, which he had noted in the public and private archives of England, France, Holland, and Spain, and the larger part of which had not been printed. The plan was an elaborate one, involving collation and translation of all the documents, and putting them in print, and has so far (1889) failed of acceptance by the United States government. In Mr. Stevens's letter to the Secretary of State, Nov. 4, 1882, speaking of the documents now grouped together in the Public Record Office in London (researches in which for papers later than 1760 being allowed to him by particular permission), it is said that there is no chronological or alphabetical or other index of any sort of the American papers, and no ready means of finding documents other than by searching. Most of this material is comprised in the series called "America and West Indies," which from the earliest dates down to 1783 make about 700 volumes, the headings in which, beside the names of the American States, likely to contain papers upon the Revolution are those marked "Military Correspondence," "Burgoyne," "Naval," "Memorials," "Correspondence," "Military Entry Books," "Military Despatches," "Intercepted Papers," "Secret Despatches," etc. In the calendaring of these papers, which is in progress, "the date of American independence cannot at the rate" now sustained "be reached during this generation nor the next."[3]

In another letter of Mr. Stevens, March 17, 1884, and taking the results of his investigations in London, Paris, the Hague, and Amsterdam, he is led to estimate that the unpublished documents in these European archives, relating to the Revolution, would make twenty octavo volumes in print, of 600 pages each.[4]

A substituted scheme of printing an index to the documents in European archives, relating to America, between 1763 and 1783, which was pressed upon Congress by Mr. Stevens and his friends in 1887, also failed of passage.[5]

The labors of Mr. T. B. Akins of Halifax on the Nova Scotia archives are the most conspicuous.[6] Brymner's *Report* for 1881 gives an account of the Acadian papers in the British Museum, including a description of the collection formed by Dr. Andrew Brown.

The relations of Nova Scotia to the American Revolution are traced in T. B. Akins' *List of manuscript documents in the government offices at Halifax* (Halifax, 1886), showing the Council records from 1766 to 1783 (p. 16); the papers relating to the attempts made in 1776 and subsequent years to engage Nova Scotia in the struggle, transcribed from documents in the State House at Boston (p. 23);[7] transcripts of military correspondence, including an account of Col. Gorham's defence of Fort Cumberland (1776), from the Public Record Office in London; two volumes of selections from the papers in the Royal Institution, chiefly in reference to the loyalist emigration to Nova Scotia; and two volumes of selections from the Haldimand Papers, 1761–1783.

The successive reports of the Dominion archivists at Ottawa (1872–73–74, 1881–82–83–84–85–86–87–88) show what progress has been made at Ottawa in gathering the documentary evidences of Canadian history.[8] Their reports indicate not only what in the foreign offices had been copied for them, but also what was found and not copied, and they include references to these: —

In the War Office, London, — papers respecting the loyalists and their settlement in Canada, 1778–1780; records of military movements about Boston, in Canada, and near New York, 1773–1776, called "North America, 1773–1776;" letters of Carleton and papers about the Convention of Saratoga, called "Quebec and Canada, 1776–1780;" letters on the internal affairs of the troops, called "Generals Howe and Clinton, 1776–1780;" much about loyalist regiments in "Sir Guy Carleton, 1782–1783;" lists of troops sent out in "Secretary of State, 1770–1775;" "1776," "1777–1781," including inquiries into Burgoyne's failure; and "1781–1784."

In the British Museum, — letters of Sir William, Sir John, and Col. Guy Johnson, 1770–1780 (*Add. MSS.*, no. 24,323).

In the Public Record Office, — the series of volumes relating to "Quebec," beginning 1760, and after 1774,

[1] Stevens, *Hist. Coll.*, i. p. 160.

[2] The catalogue gives the contents.

[3] *U. S. Docs., 47th Cong., 2d sess., Misc. Doc., no. 29.*

[4] *U. S. Docs., 48th Cong., 1st sess., Misc. Doc., no. 84.*

[5] *U. S. Docs., 49th Cong., 2d session, Senate, Ex. Doc. 43; Ho. Report, no. 3962.*

Mr. Stevens is now endeavoring to get subscribers enough to warrant his undertaking the publication of "Fac-similes of American Manuscripts from 1763 to 1783 in European Archives." It is much to be desired that some published results of Mr. Stevens' labors be reached whereby students can profit.

[6] *Ante*, Vol. IV. 159; V. 418, 456, 458.

[7] Cf. proposals by Col. John Allan for attacking Nova Scotia in *N. S. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, ii. p. 11; Frederic Kidder's *Military operations in Eastern Maine* (Albany, 1867), largely concerned with efforts to induce the neutrality of the Indian tribes; and "Acadia during the Amer. Revolution" in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, July, 1882, p. 486.

[8] Cf. *ante*, IV. 356; V. 617.

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covering Carleton's correspondence with Gage in Boston; the reports made by Carleton to the home government respecting the progress of events in the colonies; the incidents of the campaign in Canada, 1775–1776; the exchanging of prisoners; the raising of loyalist troops; the instigating of Indian raids; the campaign of Burgoyne; affairs at Detroit, 1777; the campaigns of the loyalist Butler; the operations in Maine; and the settlements with loyalists.

In the same office, — in the series called "America and West Indies," we touch the Revolution in the Stamp Act troubles, and events in the colonies are followed down to 1773 in the volumes 121 to 128. The series called "Canada and Quebec" covers in vols. 55–56 the years 1762–1768.

Among the original papers at Ottawa are the letters of Capt. Sherwood, 1780–81, on secret service respecting the negotiations with Vermont; the correspondence of Hamilton at Detroit and at Vincennes with Carleton, 1772–1784, including intercepted letters of George Rogers Clark (1779).

The Archives Department at Ottawa was begun in 1871, and the present archivist, Douglas Brymner, was put in charge the next year. In 1873, the military correspondence,[1] which had been accumulating at Halifax for a hundred years, was transferred to Ottawa.

In the *Report* for 1874 there is a report by the Abbé Verreau on the French archives as elucidating Canadian history; and the same subject is reported upon by the assistant archivist, Joseph Marmette, in the *Reports* for 1883, 1885, etc. He holds that the Archives de la Marine were only scantily worked by Faribault in 1852–53. In the *Report* for 1887 he analyzes the "Correspondance générale" relating to Canada, which is embraced in 124 volumes, that of Acadia, 10 volumes, a "Continuation" in 16 volumes, and those relating to Ile Royale and Ile St. Jean, in 47 volumes.

2. FRENCH. — The most important of the collections of early papers made from the French archives is that edited by Pierre Margry, which has been elsewhere described.[2]

The copies from the Paris archives made for the State of New York are noted in another place,[3] and those made by Ben: Perley Poore for the State of Massachusetts have also been referred to.[4] These last have been printed, together with other papers, in the *Collection de manuscrits relatifs à la Nouvelle France*, published by the Province of Quebec, under the supervision of Mons. J. Blanchet, in four volumes (Quebec, 1883–85). Cf. vol. ii. p. xiv. At a recent sale (1889) of the books and other material of Mr. Poore in Boston, there were a series of manuscripts, pertaining to American history, such as one would expect to find in the French archives.

The Abbé Verreau made in 1874, to the Dominion government, a report in French and in English on the sources of Canadian history, which touches at points the history of the English colonies, as relating to papers in the Bibliothèque Nationale and in the Archives Nationales in Paris, on the early explorations of the Mississippi Valley and the incursions of the English into Canada. Speaking of the Department of the Marine, Verreau is inclined to believe that many documents known to have been at Quebec, and now missing, were carried off by Vaudreuil, on the surrender of Canada in 1760. He also points out the resources of the Department of Foreign Affairs as touching the Anglo-Franco history of North America, in the series of volumes in that office marked *America*, vols. i.–viii., beginning with 1542, and the series *Canada*, vols. i., etc., beginning with 1518.

The *Reports* of the Dominion archivist Douglas Brymner, beginning in 1881, show what has been done in gleaning from the Paris archives for the history of Canada, much of which is necessarily connected with the history of the English colonies.[5] There is a special report by Joseph Marmette on the documents in the office of Foreign Affairs in Brymner's *Report* for 1883 (p. 116), with a synopsis of the documents from 1592 to 1765, and of other collections in the French archives. Another statement by Marmette is in the *Report* of 1885, in which he recounts what he found in the archives of the Marine.

The letters of De Kalb on his mission to America in 1768 are in the Department of War, and copies are in the *Sparks MSS.*, vol. xxxii.[6]

The papers (1755–1760) of the Maréchal de Lévis,[7] brought to public attention by the Abbé Casgrain (*Le Canadien*, Quebec, March 31, 1888; *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, April 12, 1888), have since been contributed in copies to the Province of Quebec by their owner, Comte Raimond de Nicolay of Paris, and the province has

[1] 200,000 documents in 1,087 volumes. Dr. T. B. Akins, of Halifax, kindly writes to me of this collection: "All the military correspondence from the various Garrisons in British North America had been for many years accumulating at the Quebec headquarters. On the removal of the Imperial troops from Canada these papers were sent to Halifax and were packed for shipment to England. This having become known to the Record Department at Halifax, and the archivist wishing to preserve to Nova Scotia such portions of the Collection as referred more immediately to that province, informed the Government at Ottawa of the existence and destination of the papers. After considerable negotiation, the whole collection was handed over to the Dominion Government and removed to Ottawa, where it has been arranged and catalogued. The papers referring to the war of 1812 are numerous. The Collection also embraces a mass of correspondence and accounts relating to the Indian departments of Upper and Lower Canada, during the period when the military authorities had charge of that service."

[2] *Ante*, Vol. IV. p. 242.

[3] *Ante*, IV. 366.

[4] *Ante*, IV. 366.

[5] Cf. *ante*, Vol. IV. 356.

[6] Cf. *ante*, VII. 35. Cf. C. J. Stille's *Broglie the proposed Stadtholder of America* in the *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, xi. 369.

[7] Cf. *ante*, Vol. V. p. 589.

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agreed to print them. Cf. *Recueil des pièces relatives à la publication des manuscrits du Maréchal de Lévis sur la Guerre du Canada, de 1755 à 1760, publié par le Comte Raimond de Nicolay* (Rennes, 1888).

The papers, mainly copies, collected by Francis Parkman for use in his historical writings are partly in his own hands and partly in the cabinet of the Massachusetts Historical Society, — except the maps, which are in Harvard College library, — where the entire collection is likely in time to be gathered.[1]

Mr. B. F. Stevens, in 1882, in speaking of the material concerning the American Revolution in the public offices of Paris, says: "The Paris documents, although considerably scattered among several government offices, appear to be very full and perhaps approximately complete. The correspondence between the French government and Gérard, Luzerne,[2] and Barbe-Marbois, appears to be quite complete,[3] and that between the French government and our commissioners, Franklin, Jay, Adams, Lee, etc., is very copious;[4] also the journals, papers, and correspondence of D'Estaing and other French officers with the French government and with American officers and public individuals. The correspondence of De Grasse, Barras, Lafayette, Paul Jones, Franklin, Arnold, Henry, Green, Hancock, Laurens, and Washington is voluminous."[5]

A new scanning of the material in the Paris Archives has been recently made by John Durand in his *New Materials for the History of the American Revolution* (N. Y., 1889). *Contents:* — Preface. — Bonvouloir. — Characteristics of states and sentiments of the people. — The Count de Vergennes. — Beaumarchais. — Louis XVI and the pressure on the king. — The services of Beaumarchais. — The trials of Beaumarchais. — Beaumarchais's contract with the United States. — The enemies of Beaumarchais. — Settlement of Beaumarchais's claims against the United States. — Correspondence of Gérard de Rayneval, 1778–79. — Correspondence of Chevalier de la Luzerne. — Appendix: Tom Paine, The daughter of Beaumarchais, Anonymous letter to Franklin. Durand makes use of the correspondence transmitted to France by Gérard de Rayneval and the Chevalier de la Luzerne; and he adds something to an understanding of the Beaumarchais transactions, of the career of Thomas Paine, and of our knowledge of Vergennes. He also prints (App.) the Weissenstein letter sent to Franklin in 1778.

The copies which Sparks made from the public archives in France are included in the *Sparks MSS.*[6] They embrace from the Archives des Affaires Etrangères (no. lxxv.) the letters, memoirs, and considerations of Jean Louis Favier (1778–1780); a series (no. lxxviii.)[7] called "French papers on the American Revolution" (including some from the Archives de la Guerre); a series (no. lxxix.) called "French papers relating to the American Colonies, 1766–1769," sent to Mr. Sparks in 1858 by De Witt; another in six vols. (no. lxxx.), "French papers relating to the American Revolution, 1776–1782," selected partly by M. Bulos in 1831–1833, and partly by Sparks in 1840–1841; the correspondence between Count Vergennes and the French minister in Holland (1776–1782), and letters (1781) to the French minister in Russia (no. lxxxii.); translated correspondence between the Abbé Desnoyers and Count de Vergennes and other papers (1776–1781) relating to the American Revolution and the attitude of Holland (no. lxxxiii.); the correspondence between the Count de Montmorin and Vergennes in 1778–1782 (no. xcii.). From the Bibliothèque Nationale he copied (no. xciv.) a "Voyage au Continent Américain par un Français en 1777, et Réflexions philosophiques sur ces nouveaux Républicains."

From the Archives de la Marine he copied the correspondence of D'Estaing (no. lii., vol. i.).

The letters of Francy, who was the agent of the United States to settle Caron Beaumarchais' claims (1778–1779), as copied in 1856 from the originals in the possession of Beaumarchais' descendants, are in the *Sparks MSS.* (no. lxxvi.)

It is said that the private papers of Gérard were in the hands of M. de Sevelinges when he wrote the introduction to the French translation of Botta.[8]

[1] Cf. *ante*, IV. 367; V. 604, 611, 617.

[2] The original record and letter books of the American legation in Paris, 1776–1785, are in the Stevens-Franklin collection in the Department of State at Washington. The correspondence of Lee and Gérard, 1780, "copied from a book in the State Department," is in the *Sparks MSS.*, no. xxxii., vol. ii.

[3] Parts of this are copied in the *Sparks MSS.*, no. xxxii. Cf. *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 73.

[4] The papers of Luzerne are described to me by his grand-nephew, Comte Jean de Kergorlay, as consisting of eight volumes, covering the period of his residence in Philadelphia, 1779–1784, of which one volume contains his instructions, one volume covers matters of trade and the treaty of commerce, and the rest hold his correspondence with the minister of foreign affairs, at the end of which is a series of sketches by him of the members of the American Congress. Their present owner also reports that three volumes of the series are missing.

Some new light is being cast upon the relations of France during the Revolution in Henri Doniol's *Histoire de la participation de la France à l'établissement des Etats-Unis d'Amérique* (Paris, 1886). Cf. *ante*, VII. 79.

[5] *U. S. Docs., 47th Cong., 2d sess., Misc. Doc. no. 29.*

[6] Cf. his memoranda in 1828 in *Sparks MSS.*, no. xlix. vol. i. no. 20.

[7] Respecting the transcripts contained in Sparks's no. lxxviii., he says, They "were selected and transcribed by me from more than thirty volumes of the manuscripts in the Archives des Affaires Etrangères during the summer and autumn of 1828 — all relating to the American Revolution. General Lafayette and the Marquis de Marbois assisted me in obtaining permission, which was represented as a special favor. . . . The parts of the leaves which are missing were cut out by the person appointed by the minister of foreign affairs to examine my papers before they were taken from the archives."

[8] *John Adams' Works*, i. 291. A paper by John Durand on "American History in the French Archives" in the *New Princeton Rev.*, Nov., 1887, is chiefly valuable for extracts from letters of Gérard relating to parties in Congress. Cf. Durand's *New Materials*, already referred to.

J. Q. Adams in 1819, in speaking of De Neuville's statement that the records of the French legation in America had been well preserved, adds that the custom is a good one; though, as his editor (C. F. A.) adds, it did not become a custom in American missions till nine or ten years later (*Mem. of J. Q. A.*, iv. 359).

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Papers respecting a grant of land to Gérard, Aug. 24, 1779, with some statements of Madison upon it, were obtained by Sparks at Montpellier in 1830, and are in the *Sparks MSS.* (lii., vol. iii.)

The correspondence of Rochambeau, as filed in the Departement de la Guerre, was copied by Sparks in 1828 (*Sparks MSS.* no. lxxviii.). The family papers of Rochambeau were bought by the United States government, and are now in the Library of Congress.

They consist of eight volumes, large and small folio, bound in green parchment, but not in all cases wholly filled, a package of loose letters received by Rochambeau, and also a large number of drawn maps, mounted, and folded to a uniform small octavo size. The bound volumes are written in different hands, and in their contents they overlap one another. A brief description follows: —

I. *Correspondance entre M^r. le Comte de Rochambeau et M^r. le Chev. de la Luzerne, pendant la guerre d'Amérique, années 1780–81–82, jusqu'au 9 Janvier, 1783.*

II. *Correspondance de M. le Comte de Rochambeau, Année 1780.* It begins with Rochambeau's "Memoire au Roy," and ends with a letter from Washington to Rochambeau, New Windsor, April 30, 1781.

III. *Correspondance de M. le C^te de Rochambeau, Année 1781.* It begins with a letter of Rochambeau dated at Newport, April 26, 1781, and ends with one written at Fredericksburg, July 7, 1782, to Ségur.

IV. *Correspondance de M. le C^te de Rochambeau, Années 1782, 1783.* It begins with a letter to Ségur, and the results of a conference of Rochambeau and Washington at Philadelphia, July 19, 1782, and ends with a letter of Washington to Rochambeau, dated at Mount Vernon, Feb. 1, 1784.

V. *Guerre d'Amérique, Année 1780. Correspondance de M. le C^te de Rochambeau.* This volume ends in March, 1781, and contains memoirs, instructions, results of conferences, letters from Versailles, etc.

VI. *2^me Registre des Correspondance. Ordres de l'Année 1782.* The letters begin at Newport, March 21, 1781, and end with one from Ségur at Versailles, Dec. 5, 1781. Two letters at the beginning from Rochambeau to his different chiefs are described thus as out of place: "La copie de cette lettre du 10 Mars, 1780, et cette avant de debarquement du 8 Juin, 1780, sont ici malplacées devant être sur le premier Registre."

VII. *Suite de l'Enregistrement des Lettres des Ministres.* It contains letters between Dec. 5, 1781, and Oct. 9, 1782.

VIII. *Troisième Registre de la Correspondance.* It begins with a letter from Williamsburg, Dec. 9, 1781, to Sir Henry Clinton, and at the end is a letter "A bord de l'Esmeranda le 9 Janvier, 1783, à M. le Chev. de la Luzerne," a "Journal de notre navigation," ending at Nantes, Feb. 10, 1783, and a letter to Ségur from Paris, March 19, 1783.

Sparks says that Rochambeau's letters to Washington were written in a rather Frenchy idiom either by himself or a secretary.[1]

We have record of sundry manuscript relations and memoirs, not yet wholly printed: —

Mémoire adressé par Choiseul à Louis XV sur sa gestion des affaires et sur sa politique après la cession du Canada à l'Angleterre. This was partly printed in the *Revue française*, July, 1828. Bancroft (iv. 240) uses it.

Relation du Prince de Broglie, also in part printed in the *Revue française*, July, 1828. Bancroft furnished it to Balch, *Les français en Amérique* (p. 13).

Mémoires de Dupetit-Thouars, referred to by Balch (p. 9).

Journal de mon Séjour en Amérique, 1780–1781, supposed to be by an aide of Rochambeau, Cromot-Dubourg (Balch, p. 11).

In an auction catalogue of Bangs Bros. & Co. (N. Y., 1854) there is noted (no. 1320) a *Journal de la Campagne de Mer du Lieut. Gen. Comte Grasse Tilly, en 1781 et 1782*, — apparently the private journal of a naval officer.

The papers of Lafayette were used in the *Mémoires* published by the family.[2] A large part of his letters to Washington were returned to La Grange after Washington's death; but Sparks secured copies of them either from Lafayette himself or from his son, and such as were included in the *Correspondence of the American Revolution* were printed from these copies. Various letters of Lafayette to Congress, from Aug. 13, 1777, to the close of the war, are included in the *Sparks MSS.* (lii. vol. iii.) Among the same transcripts there are copies of letters from Lafayette to Washington and to other persons during the Revolution (no. lxxxiv.), his correspondence and papers, in French, relating to the American and French revolutions, 1777–1792, with marginal notes by Lafayette (no. lxxxv.), and a lot styled "Lafayette's Papers, 1776–1815" (no. lxxxvi.),[3] — all sent to Sparks by Lafayette himself in 1829; letters from Lafayette to Washington during the

[1] On the Rochambeau collection, see *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, viii. 349.

[2] *Mémoires, correspondance et manuscrits du général La Fayette, publiés par sa famille*, 2 vols. (Bruxelles, 1839). The entries of the contents covering the American Revolution are: —

Premier voyage et première campagne d'Amérique 1777–1778. — Correspondance 1777–1778. — Second voyage en Amérique, et campagne de 1780 et 1781. — Mémoires historiques sur les années 1779, 1780, et 1781. — Correspondance 1779, 1780, 1781. — Correspondance années 1782, 1783, 1784.

[3] In this volume is his "Observations sur la guerre de la Révolution Américaine," and a statement about such of his papers as were not destroyed in the Reign of Terror. Cf. Winsor's *Calendar of the Sparks Manuscripts.*

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Revolution, likewise sent by Lafayette in 1832 (no. lxxxvii.); and letters from Lafayette to Washington, 1782–1792, sent by his son, Geo. W. Lafayette (no. lxxxviii.).

No. lxix. of the *Sparks MSS.* is labelled "Washington to Lafayette, 1777–1798," and is endorsed by Sparks: "I received this volume from General Lafayette, Dec. 25, 1830. It consists entirely of letters from General Washington to General Lafayette, copied under the direction of Lafayette at La Grange."

Sparks recorded, in November, 1828, the substance of his conversations with Lafayette at La Grange respecting the Revolution, and his minutes are in the *Sparks MSS.*, xxxii. vol. i., as well as a narrative of Lafayette's participation in the war, furnished by himself.[1]

Bancroft (orig. ed., x. 349) says that he found that the French ministers at Philadelphia transmitted to their home government the best and almost the only satisfactory records of the debates in Congress between 1778 and 1789; for though the House sat with closed doors, the ministers seemed able to inform themselves.[2]

John Adams was ignorant of this resource when, in 1815, he asked, "Who shall write the history of the American Revolution? Who can write it? The most essential documents, the debates and deliberations in Congress, from 1774 to 1783, were all in secret, and are now lost forever. . . . Dr. Witherspoon has published speeches, which he wrote beforehand and delivered memoriter. But these, I believe, are the only speeches ever committed to writing. The orations while I was in Congress, from 1774 to 1778, appeared to me very universally extemporaneous, and I have never heard of any committed to writing before or after delivery."[3]

3. DUTCH. — There is in the *Sparks MSS.* (no. ciii.) a collection in Dutch with an English version in seven volumes, "Historische documenten betreffende de Amerikaansche zaken van de jaren 1775–1783, af geschreven naar de Originalen in het Ryks Archief te s' Gravenhage." Brodhead made similar selections for the use of Bancroft.

4. GERMAN. — The correspondence of Frederick the Great with his ambassadors in London and Paris, touching the American war (1776), as procured by Mr. Wheaton in 1844, is in the *Sparks MSS.* (no. lxxvii.).[4]

Mr. E. J. Lowell, in the Appendix of his *Hessians*, gives a list of manuscript sources in the archives at Cassel, Marburg, etc., and he gives in the critical part of his chapter in the present *History*[5] a more complete account of the Hessian archives. Cf. also his account in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 2d ser., iii. 219.

Geo. Bancroft, in the preface to his vol. ix., explains how the reports made to the Duke of Brunswick came at last to be lodged among the Prussian archives, whence he got copies of them, and of plans of battles, especially illustrating the campaign of 1777. He also secured the papers, journals, and correspondence collected by Max von Eelking, including letters of Burgoyne and Riedesel, and the journal of the latter in his own draft. Mr. Bancroft also says that by the aid of a Prussian officer the libraries and repositories of Germany were scoured with success for chance material in print touching the part of the Germans in the war. He says he has found in the main these German accounts the most important which we have.

5. SPANISH. — Sparks procured in 1854 from the Spanish Archives (*Sparks MSS.*, no. xcv. 2 vols.) the correspondence of the Marquis de Grimaldi, Count de Florida Blanca, and Count de Aranda (1776–1782), and in 1855 another selection (no. xcvi.) in one volume.[6] There are also in the same collection (no. xcvii.) the original letters of Juan de Miralles from Charleston, S. C., and Philadelphia to the governor of Havana, 1778–1780, and those of Francisco Rendon from Philadelphia to the governor of Havana, 1780, with copies and translations of some of them (nos. xcviii., c.), beside a translation (no. c.) of a succinct memoir of the operations of Galvez in Louisiana and Florida in 1781–1782, and a version of a manuscript belonging to Ternaux-Compans on the Spanish operations in Louisiana in 1781–1783 (no. ci.).[7]

Investigations conducted in the archives at Simancas have recently revealed papers of great importance respecting the early operations of the English along the eastern coasts of the United States, derived from reports and disclosures made in the early part of the seventeenth century by the Spanish ambassadors in London to their home government. These are to appear in Alexander Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, already referred to.

6. ITALIAN. — There were published in two volumes at Genoa, in 1879, the official correspondence of the Genoese ambassador Francisco Ageno in London during the American Revolution (1770–1780), with an extended preface on the colonies, *I casi della guerra per l'indipendenza d'America. Narrati dall' ambasciatore della repubblica di Genova presso la corte d'Inghilterra, nella sua corrispondenza ufficiale inedita, per Giuseppe Colucci.*

[1] The latest use of all the material respecting Lafayette is in Bayard Tuckerman's *Life of General Lafayette* (N. Y., 1889), but the book makes no reference to sources excepting in a general way in its preface.

[2] *Works*, x. 171; cf. his notes in 1775-1776 in *Ibid.* ii. 443; and Greene's *Hist. View*, 387.

[3] Cf. Madison's *Letters*, iv. 68, 82, on the materials of American history at London and Paris.

[4] A letter of Frederick, Aug. 8, 1768, charging the English government with folly, is given as among the Lansdowne Papers in the *Hist. MSS. Com. Report*, iii. 140.

[5] *Ante*, Vol. VII. ch. 1.

[6] Some of these are translated in no. cii.

[7] Cf. *ante*, Vol. VI. 738; VII. 54, and Winsor's *Calendar of the Sparks Manuscripts in Harvard College Library*.

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COMPREHENSIVE PRINTED AUTHORITIES UPON THE GENERAL AND UPON SOME SPECIAL PHASES OF THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, 1776–1850.

By the Editor.

1. AMERICAN. — "The records of the British government," wrote John Adams to Thomas McKean in 1815, "and the records of all the thirteen colonies, and the pamphlets, newspapers, and handbills of both parties, must be examined and the essence extracted before a correct history can be written of the American Revolution." [1]

There was found among the papers of Gov. William Livingston, and given to the N. Y. Hist. Soc.[2] in 1847, a manuscript *History of the American Revolution, commencing with the settlement of the American colonies and coming down to 8th Nov., 1775*. It had never been printed.

Thomas Paine in 1779 had formed a plan — never executed — of writing a history of the Revolution.[3]

At the end of the struggle, John Jay wrote to Charles Thomson, who had been the faithful secretary of the Continental Congress, urging him at least to take one hour of the twenty-four and give to posterity a truthful account of the political course of the Revolution, since he considered no one so well able to do it; but Thomson passed the long years of his retirement without so much as putting pen to paper to this end, so far as we know.[4]

The third volume of Gov. Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts Bay* is for the most part occupied with the history of the political agitation, centring in that province, and is brought down to the moment of his leaving the country in June, 1774. He carried the manuscript with him to England, and continued to work upon it till he completed the final revision in October, 1778.[5] A committee of the Mass. Hist. Society had opened communication in 1817–1820 with Elisha Hutchinson, the son of the governor, with an aim to secure the governor's historical papers and to publish this manuscript of this third volume. Finally, after the death of Elisha, Mr. James Savage, in behalf of the society, effected a decision of the heirs to print the volume, which, edited by Elisha's son, the Rev. John Hutchinson, was published in London in 1828.[6]

The long delay in the publication of this third volume gave time for passions to cool, and when we consider the vilifications which Hutchinson experienced from his patriot contemporaries, and the injuries to property which he had suffered,[7] we can read with satisfaction the temperate expressions of his treatment of those furious controversies, which make up a large part of this posthumous volume. The opinion expressed of him by Pownall, in 1774, that America had not a more determined, insidious, and inveterate enemy,[8] the denunciation of Warren,[9] and the lingering antipathy of John Adams, who professed to have tried to disabuse his mind of prejudice against him,[10] were a general inheritance of the community from which Hutchinson fled that the new generations found it difficult to forget. Hutchinson says that in England he refused honors which would have been thrust upon him; [11] but John Adams professes to have learned there, later, that the despised man was almost shouldered out of the best English circles. There is nothing, however, to indicate this in Hutchinson's diary, and the tone of his history is that of an arbiter, conscious of his rectitude. The view of his character held by the patriot party has dissolved slowly. The governor was ambitious, perhaps grasping of power; he had but a dim conception of the patriots' overpowering zeal,[12] and always misjudged it, but they as generally misinterpreted him, and gave him no credit for that deep love of his country which his diary now discloses. This and time have done much to bring the better side of his character into prominence, while the grandson of one who shared the aversion of his contemporaries has fitly said that "his faults will be perhaps thought by posterity to have been expiated by his misfortune." [13]

[1] *John Adams' Works*, x. 180. John Adams (*Familiar Letters*, p. 210) again records that as early as 1776 the artist Du Simitière, when consulted about a device for a medal to commemorate the siege of Boston, showed him the progress he was making in gathering material, snipping newspaper slips, and indexing pamphlets, to serve for a history of the Revolution.

[2] *Proc.*, 1847, p. 135.

[3] F. Moore's *Laurens Correspondence*, p. 158.

[4] Wm. B. Reed's *Address before the N. Y. Hist. Soc., Dec. 19, 1839*, p. 39.

[5] P. O. Hutchinson's *Diary and Letters of Gov. Hutchinson*, ii. 78, 172, 218.

[6] Five hundred copies were sent to the American market, and called vol. iii. of the *History* (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, i. 397. Certain Boston gentlemen assumed the cost of these copies, — about $1,500).

Another five hundred, intended for the English trade, were given out as an independent work, with a long preface not included in the American copies (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, i. p. 286; iii. 144). The editor was subsequently made a corresponding member of the society. *Ibid.* i. 413. There is also an account of him in *Ibid.* xi. 148.

[7] Hutchinson says that when he departed from New England, in 1774, he abandoned property amounting to £1,000 for his house, movables, and farm in Milton; to £1,500 for mortgage on real estate in Middleboro; beside his houses, warehouses, and wharves in Boston (*Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Nov., 1884, p. 463). See on his town house, *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xxx. 74; *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iv. 468.

[8] Quincy's *Life of Josiah Quincy, Jr.*, p. 205.

[9] Frothingham's *Warren*, pp. 483–86.

[10] In 1816, etc. Cf. *Works*, x. 230, 261, 285.

[11] P. O. Hutchinson's *Governor Hutchinson*, i. 127, 128, 283.

[12] Cf. Bancroft in *N. Am. Rev.*, April, 1838, p. 477.

[13] Edmund Quincy, *Haunted Adjutant, etc.*, 343.

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William Gordon, when a man of about forty years, came to America in 1770, drawn thither, perhaps, by his love for the American cause, and known in some measure from a correspondence which he had begun with James Bowdoin.[1] He was soon settled as a preacher at Roxbury, near Boston, and a sermon which he delivered in December, 1774, on a Thanksgiving Day, marked the urgent nature of his adherence to the popular cause.[2] He was made chaplain of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress in 1775, and was given for a while the custody of the Hutchinson Papers, from which he extracted for Bowdoin [3] the passages objectionable to the patriots. He preached the election sermon at Watertown in July, 1775, and gave the discourse before the General Court on the first anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1777.[4]

He seems to have begun to make his collections on the American Revolution in 1777, and we have a letter to him of that year from John Adams,[5] in which he tells Gordon that his own habit had been so far from col-

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lecting papers that he had often destroyed such, and even his own minutes of events and their causes. Adams advises him to begin his story as far back at least as 1761. Adams took his measure of Gordon as a very well-meaning, very zealous man, but too talkative, indiscreet, and vain.[6] Washington at first refused to let him have access to his papers, because it was not becoming to throw them open to historians before Congress had unbarred the public archives for the same period. This was early in 1784.[7] His application to Congress was equally unsuccessful, but a second attempt prevailed, and in June of that same year he was at Mount Vernon examining Washington's papers. "He is indefatigable, and will make a valuable collection," wrote Ebenezer Hazard of him at this time.

[1] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, vii. 291.
[2] Thornton's *Pulpit of the Rev.*, 188.
[3] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, vii. 293.
[4] The only attempt we have of a biographical memoir of Gordon is a scattering essay by Mr. James S. Loring in the *Hist. Mag.*, Feb. and March, 1862. Gordon died in 1807, aged seventy-seven.
[5] *Works*, ix. 461.
[6] *Works*, ii. 424.
[7] *Washington's Works*, ix. 29. Washington had earlier written (Oct. 23, 1782) to Gordon, who had applied to see his papers, saying, "Mine, while the war continues, I consider as a species of public property, sacred in my hands. When Congress shall open their register, and say it is proper for the servants of the public to do so, it will give me much pleasure to afford aid to your labors" (*Sparks MSS.*, no. lxv. vol. iii. p. 359).

* Reproduced from an engraving by Chapman after Hayter. Cf. *Catal. Cab. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, no. 118.

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In the preface of his history, Gordon speaks of the encouragement he had had from the late commander-in-chief to collect material, oral and written, and that Congress, as well as Washington, Gates, Greene, Lincoln, and Otho Williams, had opened their papers to him. It is alleged that his maps of the Southern campaigns were drawn by Ramsay and revised by Greene.[1] He is supposed to have written his history in the main before he returned to England, and to have made the first draft more pronounced against the English government and certain officers than he thought prudent to let stand in the printed work.[2] Finally, in 1788, his book appeared in London in four volumes under the title *The History of the Rise, Progress, and Establishment of the Independence of the United States of America*.[3] His preface is dated at London, Oct. 28, 1788.[4]

The earliest copies reached New York in February, 1789. In March Hazard was telling Belknap that it was a valuable book, and that its author wished corrections for a second edition.[5] The New York newspapers soon began to print large extracts from it, day after day, and an American edition in three volumes was put to press. Hazard before long was writing to Belknap[6] that Gordon was "a valuable friend, but an indifferent historian. His collection of facts will be useful to some future writer, who will hold a better pen." Belknap[7] quite agreed with his friend, and says that Samuel Adams was hurt at Gordon's representation of his being engaged at one time in an effort to remove Washington, and considered Gordon to indulge in reminiscences "which are below the dignity of history," and thought it a pity the author could not have let his book be seen by some judicious friends. "I am persuaded," Belknap says, that Gordon "might have profited by their advice; but he had too much of the self-sufficient principle in him." Again he speaks[8] of Gordon's giving offence in what he said of Washington. "Gordon was not much beloved nor regarded while he was here, and the stories he has told of one and another in his book have helped to sink him in the general estimation, though now and then I find some who are rather inclined to speak favorably of him." Hazard in reply says, "I know that Gordon's intention was to state facts truly," and he cites Ramsay as praising Gordon's valuable collection of materials.[9] In England, if we may believe a correspondent of John Adams,[10] it was "a story that nobody liked to read," and in America there was a suspicion, probably groundless, that Gordon had by his subserviency in England injured his record as an advocate of the American cause.

Gordon was the earliest to work in an historical spirit among the original records that had not been made public during the progress of the war, and therefore had advantages which he availed himself of with inquisitiveness and pertinacity, so that subsequent writers have found him valuable for material which is difficult to find elsewhere.[11] In his treatment of his story he was at times far from wise; but Bancroft is content to pronounce his book on the whole invaluable.[12]

W. B. Reed[13] says: "Gordon's ponderous history of the war is a curious and ill-digested collection of materials. He had access to much that was authentic, but made strange and often mischievous use of what he had." One of the most temperate of English writers, Wm. Smyth, in his *Lecture on Modern History*, calls him "impartial."

A better trained writer, and one better supplied with the historic sense and capable of broad and condensed expression, placed himself on record as a contemporary authority of the first importance. This was David Ramsay, who undertook first his history of the part sustained by South Carolina[14] to the conflict.

He said in his preface that "his knowledge of the affairs of the Middle and Northern States was not sufficiently particular to warrant his attempting the history of the whole." He then states that as a witness to many of the events in the South, from his official connections, his acquaintance with the actors, his familiarity

[1] There are specimens of the kind of inquiries which Gordon made of Greene in his letters (G. W. Greene, *Life of Gen. Greene*, ii. 417). See, also, *Hist. Mag.*, xiii. 24, 160. G. W. Greene (i. 516) says Gordon "was generally well informed; and though he sometimes mistakes, seldom if ever invents."

[2] John Adams to Gerry, April 20, 1813; Dr. Waterhouse's *Junius;* J. W. Francis, *Old New York* (1858), pp. 112–13; Niles' *Principles and Acts* (1876), p. 516. Sam. Adams thought Gordon went back to England with undue hopes of a speedy reconciliation of the two peoples (*John Adams' Works*, ix. 547).

[3] Sabin, vii. p. 347. It was reprinted in New York, 1789, in 3 vols.; again in 1794. Brinley, ii. no. 4018.

[4] He writes to Washington, Feb. 16, 1789, that the printing of 1200 copies (200 on best wove paper) had cost him £700. *Sparks MSS.*, no. lxvi.

[5] *Belknap Papers*, ii. 102.

[6] *Ibid.* ii. 144.

[7] *Ibid.* ii. 151.

[8] *Ibid.* ii. 161.

[9] Cf. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xiv. 91.

[10] *Works*, ix. 550.

[11] C. F. Adams in *John Adams' Works*, ii. 423.

[12] Original ed., iv. 376; ix. 123, — saying that Gordon always cites documents correctly. "Notwithstanding all its faults, the book is invaluable, but by no means free from tales that on examination are found untrustworthy." James Sullivan says that Gordon never obtained political confidence here, and returned to England to exhibit his ill-nature and revenge. "There are in his work," says Sullivan, "very few facts truly stated, and these are badly arranged, while the effects for which he assigns causes are generally as much estranged to what he supposes they flow from as his is from a pure historical style" (*Life of Sullivan*, by T. C. Amory, i. 258). Hamilton had such an opinion of Gordon as might be expected from the resentment he expressed at what he deemed a slander. *Hamilton's Works*, Lodge ed., vii. 570–76, 586.

[13] *Life of Joseph Reed*, i. 240.

[14] *The History of the Revolution of South Carolina from a British Province to an Independent State* (Trenton, 1785, in two volumes). It was reprinted in London in 1787, and appeared in a French version by Lefort, the same year, both at London and Paris, and again at Paris in 1796, in five volumes. Continued to 1808, it was republished at Charleston in 1809 in two volumes, and in 1858 at Newberry (S. C.) and Charleston (Sabin, xvi., nos. 67,686, 67,705).

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with the fields of battle, and also from his access to official papers, he had been better qualified for the more local task.

He was, nevertheless, beginning even then to collect material for a wider study of the times, and when he was a member of Congress, in 1785–86, he increased his opportunities by the access which he then had to the national archives, many of which he hoped, as he said, one day to print as documentary proofs in a separate publication, — a labor which he never performed, though a few years later he made public his *History of the American Revolution*.[1] Ramsay brought an ardent patriotism[2] to the task, and a literary skill hardly surpassed among his compatriots. He had a reputation for justness, and Gen. Greene is said to have expressed satisfaction with his narrative so far as his personal acquaintance with the events qualified him to judge it. Smyth, in his *Lectures*,[3] gives a long summary of his early chapters, as best showing on the American side

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the motives and impulses of the earlier periods of the Revolution; and while he finds him candid and impartial, he criticises him in no respect but as being forgetful of the training of the king's soldiers, which the American raw levies had to encounter, and thinks, consequently, that Ramsay's palliation of the defeats which the Americans received was in some degree needless.

[1] It was published at Philadelphia in two volumes, in 1789; and later at London, 1791, 1793; Dublin, 1793 and 1795; Trenton, 1811; and Lexington, Ky., 1815. There are French, Dutch (1792), and German (1794) translations (Sabin, xvi., nos. 67,687–67,688). A letter of Charles Thomson, addressed to Ramsay and criticising his history in the manuscript draft, is in the *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1878, p. 215. The substance of this book was made the basis of the second volume of a *History of the United States*, 1607–1808, which Ramsay did not live wholly to complete, but which was finished by S. S. Smith, and printed at Philadelphia in 1816–17, and in a second revised edition in 1818 (Sabin, xvi. no. 67,694). There was in the Rush C. Hawkins sale, March, 1887, a copy of the proofs of Ramsay's *United States*, with his corrections. Cf. *Madison's Letters*, iii. 205.

[2] Cf. his oration at Charleston, S. C., in July, 1778, on the advantages of independence, cited in Niles' *Principles and Acts*, 1876 ed., p. 374.

[3] Lecture xxxiii.

* After an engraving in the *Analectic Mag.*, vol. vi., marked "I. B. White, pt., Gimbrede, sculpt." There is a likeness in Independence Hall.

A memoir of Ramsay appeared in the *Analectic Mag.*, vol. vi. p. 204; was reprinted in vol. i. of his *Hist. of the U. S.*, and again in the *Nat. Portrait Gallery*, 1836, vol. iii., and 1852, vol. ii. Cf. Vol. V., *Index*.

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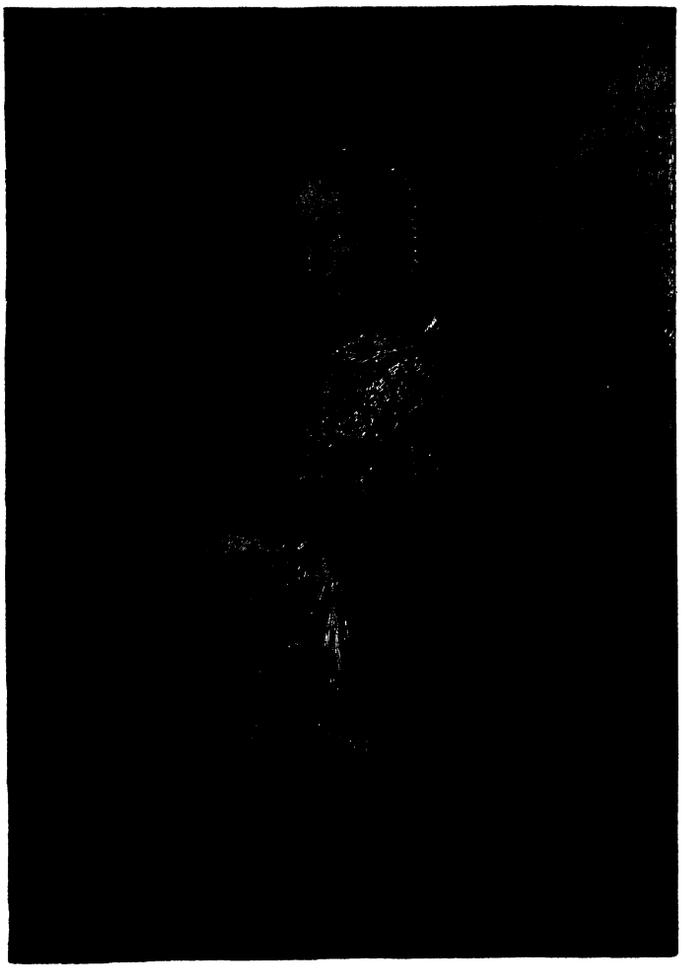
The next contemporaneous general account of the war was Thomas Pemberton's so-called *Historical Journal of the American War*, 1765–1784, published first in the second volume of the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections*, and then separately at Boston in 1793. Two years later (1795) the little work of John Lendrum appeared in two editions, the first at Boston and the second at Philadelphia: *A concise and impartial history of the American revolution. Prefixed, a general history of North and South America* [*etc.*], in two volumes; and *The history of America, in two books. Containing 1. A general history of America. 2. A concise history of the late revolution.* [*Anon.*] *Extracted from the American edition of the Encyclopædia.* 2d ed. in one volume.[1]



MRS. MERCY WARREN.*

The *Monthly Military Repository* of Charles Smith, which reached two volumes (New York, 1796–97), shows six maps of the war, and its descriptions are said to have been supplied by Gates and Steuben.[2] It appeared in 1797, independently, as *The American War from 1775 to 1783* (New York, for Charles Smith), and is now a very rare book.[3]

A *History of the British Empire, 1765–1783, containing an impartial history of the origin, progress, and*

[1] Sabin, x. 207. [2] Sabin, xii. 50, 185. [3] Brinley, no. 4151; Menzies, no. 1841.

* After a painting owned by Winslow Warren, Esq., of Dedham. Cf. Perkins' *Copley*, p. 116, and the engravings in Higginson's *Larger History*, p. 353, and in Mrs. Ellet's *Women of the Revolution*, vol. i.

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termination of the American Revolution, was prepared "by a society of gentlemen," and was published in Philadelphia in 1798, in two volumes, reaching a second edition in 1803.[1]

As early as 1773, John Adams had written to Mercy Warren, the sister of James Otis and wife of James Warren, that "the faithful historian delineates characters truly, let the censure fall where it will. The public is so interested in public characters that they have a right to know them, and it becomes the duty of every good citizen who happens to be acquainted with them to communicate his knowledge."[2] At the time this was written Mrs. Warren was a woman ripe in the experience — she was forty-seven — of familiarity with the leading spirits in Massachusetts, and flattered by John Adams to believe that her powers were neglected only for the world's loss.[3] In 1778 she seems to have been contemplating a history of the Revolution, in which she had known so intimately so many of its principal actors, and was sketching the characters of some of these actors to her correspondents.[4] "As to portraits," says John Adams to her in reply, "I dare not try my hand as yet, but my design is to retire, like my friend [Mrs. Warren], and spend all my leisure hours in writing a history of this revolution."[5] From notes which during these years she had collected, and from a voluminous correspondence with those who had been foremost in the active scenes of the struggle, as well as from the papers of her husband and her own recollections, she wrote finally, and was at the advanced age of seventy-seven when she published, her *History of the Rise, Progress and Termination of the American Revolution; interspersed with biographical, political, and moral observations* (Boston, 1805).

It was a woman's vivacious yet dignified, and sharply drawn yet lightly touched narrative of events not yet faded from the personal memories of such as then survived of the makers of that revolution. She had been early and late a close friend of John Adams and his wife. The politics of the United States had by this time divided them, as newer differences of opinion during the later years had arisen. John Adams was now retired from political life, and under a load of calumny from the Jefferson party, with which the Warrens sympathized. He was quick to see present antagonisms in what she had said of him in her history, as respects his conduct of the earlier time, and, restraining little his passion, he addressed her a series of indignant and in some parts insolent letters. She replied with more dignity and hardly less vigor. An estrangement followed, only healed by the good offices of Elbridge Gerry in due time. This correspondence, barring some passages in the Adams part of it which merited oblivion, was printed in 1878 in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. xliv.[6]

Bancroft in 1838 said,[7] "Take it all for all, the *Annals* of Holmes constitute a work which in its kind has never been equalled among us, and has few parallels anywhere;" and this judgment is as good to-day, the portion relating to the Revolution being of the general excellence of the rest of the volume, and strengthened by references to authorities.[8]

A work by Bernard Hubley, *History of the American Revolution, including the most important events and resolutions of the Honourable Continental Congress during that period, and also the most interesting letters and orders of Washington, etc.* (Northumberland, Penna., 1805), was never continued, — begun Oct. 9, 1775, only one volume being published.[9]

Another incompleted work was a *History of the American Revolution*, of which the first volume, and part one of a second, were printed at Charleston, S. C., in 1806.[10]

Benjamin Trumbull's *General History of the U. S.* (Boston, 1810) was necessarily in part concerned with the war.

A work which passes under the name of Paul Allen, who was the projector, was written in fact (vol. i.) by John Neal and (vol. ii.) Mr. Watkins,[11] and is called *A history of the American revolution. To which are added, the most important resolutions of the continental congress, and many of the most important letters of General Washington.* It was published at Baltimore in 1819, and was reprinted in 1822.[12]

Adam Seybert's *Statistical Annals of the United States, 1789–1818*, was published at Philadelphia in 1818.

Alexander Garden's *Anecdotes of the American Revolution* appeared in a first series at Charleston, S. C., in 1822, and in a second in 1828.[13] What is known as William Bailey's *Records of Patriotism and Love of Country* (Washington, 1826) is founded on, and in large part a reprint of, Garden's book, made in England and printed with an American title-page.[14] Garden was honestly reprinted, in three volumes, with additional matter, under the editing of Thomas W. Field, as *Anecdotes of the American Revolution, illustrative of Talents and Virtues of the Heroes of the Revolution* (Brooklyn, 1865).[15]

[1] Sabin, viii. no. 32,163.
[2] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, xliv. p. 329.
[3] Adams's *Works*, ix. 356; also see p. 335.
[4] Adams's *Works*, ix. 369.
[5] *Ibid.* ix. 475.
[6] The originals are owned by Charles Francis Adams and Winslow Warren. Cf. Duyckinck's *Cyclop. of Amer. Lit.*, i.; Mrs. Ellet's *Women of the Revolution*, i. 74.
[7] *No. Amer. Rev.*, April, 1838, p. 481.
[8] The first edition (1805) was succeeded by a second (1829). See the present *History*, Vol. V. p. 619, for an estimate of Holmes.
[9] Sabin, viii. no. 32,156.
[10] Sparks, no. 1291; Brinley, no. 4034.
[11] Kettell, *Amer. Poets*, ii. 186.
[12] The *Brinley Catal.* (no. 3933) dates the first edition in 1817.
[13] Sabin, vii. nos. 26,597, 26,598.
[14] Brinley, no. 3968.
[15] Sabin, vii. no. 26,599.

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A popular book fifty years ago was Jedidiah Morse's *Annals of the American Revolution, or a record of the cause and events, which produced and terminated in the establishment and independence of the American Republic* (Hartford, 1824).

Timothy Pitkin [1] published in 1828 a *Political and Civil History of the United States, 1773–1797*, in two volumes, which Sparks calls a first attempt to disconnect political events from the military record.

Samuel Perkins's *Historical Sketches of the United States, 1815–1830*, was printed at New York in 1830.

"The great merit of Mr. Sparks," wrote Bancroft in 1838,[2] "giving him the first rank among the critical students of our history, consists in his candor and his completeness." Mention is made elsewhere of Sparks's eminent assistance in giving an orderly presentation of the great mass of material illustrating the Revolution, by his editions of the *Writings of Washington* and *Franklin*, and by his *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Revolution*, and of the *Letters addressed to Washington*. His other contributions to the history of the Revolution and later times consist of his *Life of Gouverneur Morris, with selections from his correspondence and miscellaneous papers* (Boston, 1832, in three volumes),[3] and the lives contributed by himself — those of Charles Lee, Pulaski, Ethan Allen, and Benedict Arnold, to say nothing of those of an earlier period — to his *Library of American Biography*.[4]

Sparks had formed the intention — as early as 1840 — of writing the history of the American Revolution, or of the period between the Peace of Paris in 1763 and the adoption of the Federal Constitution.[5] When he learned that Bancroft was intending to continue his narrative to the peace of 1783, he abandoned the more general purpose for devoting himself to the history of the foreign relations of the United States during the Revolutionary period, and upon this theme he was engaged to the last.[6]

Bancroft began what he called the *History of the American Revolution* with the fourth volume of his *History of the United States*, treating as a first epoch the overthrow of the European colonial system, between the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 and the Peace of Paris in 1763, — a space covered by the preceding volume of the present *History*. Not until he undertook his fifth and sixth volumes did he reach the more commonly reckoned preliminaries of the Revolution in the story of the growing estrangement of the colonies from 1763 to 1774, closing the narrative of the causes of that political struggle with the penal acts of 1774 which dissolved the moral connection and began the civil war.

It was in 1852 that he published his fifth volume; and his tenth, ending with the peace, appeared in 1875. For nearly twenty-five years his narrative of the Revolution was in progress.[7] In the sixth and ninth volumes he has told of his facilities, and they were more extensive than any other writer on our Anglo-American history has enjoyed, and can only be approached by those of Sparks. Of collections of printed books he names, beside his private library, those of Harvard College, the Boston Athenæum, — rich in pamphlets, — and the British Museum as having been his chief dependence.[8] It is, however, in respect to manuscript sources that

[1] There is a portrait of Pitkin in the *Pitkin Family of America*, Hartford, 1887, p. 50. Cf. C. K. Adams' *Man. of Hist. Lit.*, p. 574.

[2] *No. Am. Rev.*, April, 1838, p. 483.

[3] A French version by Augustin Gaudais was published in Paris in 1842. Sparks worked from Morris's papers, which were carefully preserved, after his mission to Europe. C. F. Adams thinks that Sparks "fell short of giving the full history and character" of Gouverneur Morris (*Mem. of J. Q. Adams*, i. 137). There is a characterization of Morris by H. T. Tuckerman in his *Biog. Essays*.

[4] This publication was begun in Boston in 1830, the first series growing to ten volumes, and the second to fifteen. The twenty-five volumes cover the following lives: —

Contents. — Vol. i., John Stark, by E. Everett; C. B. Brown, by W. H. Prescott; R. Montgomery, by J. Armstrong; E. Allen, by J. Sparks. ii., A. Wilson, by W. B. O. Peabody; Capt. J. Smith, by G. S. Hillard. iii., Life and treason of B. Arnold, by J. Sparks. iv., A. Wayne, by J. Armstrong; H. Vane, by C. W. Upham. v., J. Eliot, the apostle to the Indians, by C. Francis. vi., W. Pinkney, by H. Wheaton; W. Ellery, by E. T. Channing; C. Mather, by W. B. O. Peabody. vii., Sir W. Phips, by F. Bowen; I. Putnam, by O. W. B. Peabody; Memoir of L. M. Davidson, by C. M. Sedgwick; D. Rittenhouse, by J. Renwick. viii., J. Edwards, by S. Miller; D. Brainerd, by W. B. O. Peabody. ix., Baron Steuben, by F. Bowen; S. Cabot, by C. Hayward, Jr.; W. Eaton, by C. C. Felton. x., R. Fulton, by J. Renwick; J. Warren, by A. H. Everett; H. Hudson, by H. R. Cleveland; Father Marquette, by J. Sparks. xi., R. C. de la Salle, by J. Sparks; P. Henry, by A. H. Everett. xii., J. Otis, by F. Bowen; J. Oglethorpe, by W. B. O. Peabody. xiii., J. Sullivan, by O. W. B. Peabody; J. Leisler, by C. F. Hoffman; N. Bacon, by W. Ware; J. Mason, by G. E. Ellis. xiv., R. Williams, by W. Gammell; T. Dwight, by W. B. Sprague; Count Pulaski, by J. Sparks; xv., B. Thompson, Count of Rumford, by J. Renwick; Z. M. Pike, by H. Whiting; S. Gorton, by J. M. Mackie. xvi., E. Stiles, by J. L. Kingsley; J. Fitch, by C. Whittlesey; A. Hutchinson, by G. E. Ellis. xvii., J. Ribault, by J. Sparks; S. Rale, by C. Francis; W. Palfrey, by J. G. Palfrey. xviii., C. Lee, by J. Sparks; J. Reed, by H. Reed. xix., L. Calvert, by G. W. Burnap; S. Ward, by W. Gammell; T. Posey, by J. Hall. xx., N. Greene, by G. W. Greene. xxi., S. Decatur, by A. S. Mackenzie. xxii., E. Preble, by L. Sabine; W. Penn, by G. E. Ellis. xxiii., D. Boone, by J. M. Peck; B. Lincoln, by F. Bowen. xxiv., J. Ledyard, by J. Sparks. xxv., W. R. Davie, by F. M. Hubbard; S. Kirkland, by S. K. Lothrop.

[5] See *Madison Letters*, iii. 582–583.

[6] His library, having been kept for a few years after his death (1866), was catalogued, and in 1871 a *Catalogue* of it was printed at Cambridge under the supervision of Mr. Chas. A. Cutter of the Boston Athenæum. The volume contained also a record of his collection of bound historical manuscripts, which under his will and by the consent of his son were soon transferred to the library of Harvard College, where they now are, and of them that library has printed a somewhat particular calendar. The printed books and the collection of maps were purchased for Cornell University, where they now are. His correspondence and journals were retained by the family, and have lately been entrusted to Professor Herbert B. Adams for editing and publishing some parts of them.

[7] The course of opinion regarding his labors can be traced through *Poole's Index*, p. 1350.

[8] The Ebeling collection gave the college library its

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GEORGE BANCROFT (1853).*

distinction (see "Americana" in the first volume of this *History*). The riches of the Boston Athenæum appear in the catalogue published 1874–1882, as finally edited by Chas. A. Cutter, the leading authority in the science of cataloguing in the United States. The catalogue of the British Museum is now printing slowly, and is made public by instalments.

* After a photograph, which Mr. Bancroft considers on the whole the best picture of his most vigorous years. Cf. another engraving in J. C. Fremont's *Memoirs of my Life*, i. 414. The large-paper edition of his original edition, published in 1861, has a photograph of a few years later. The copy of this edition in Harvard College library bears the following inscription: —

Almae Matri,
Inclytae Academiae Harvardianae,
Vobis, studio suo, et beneficiis tuis
devinctissimus,
alumnus vester amantissimus,
Geo. Bancroft
New York. A.D. 1861.

The final volume of his last revision has an engraving, not altogether satisfactory, of the superb painting of him made in Berlin during his term as American minister there, and which now hangs in his house in Washington, as a pendant to the large portrait of the Emperor of Germany. (Cf. B. G. Lovejoy on "Bancroft at Home" in *The Critic*, vi. 67.)

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his opportunities have been most remarkable. Nothing was refused him in the English State-Paper Office nor at the Treasury. The manuscripts of the British Museum and the Royal Institution, such of the Chatham Papers as had not been printed, the Shelburne Papers, including the letters of Shelburne and the king, an autobiography of the third Duke of Grafton, a journal of the Earl of Dartmouth, the letters which passed from the king to Lord North,[1] not to mention others of lesser importance, were placed at his disposal. In France the archives were thrown open to his search without restraint, and the treasures of the Marine and War Department were largely drawn upon. On the negotiations for the peace, the French archives offered him the richest material. From Germany his acquisitions were more peculiarly valuable, as Sparks had scarcely reaped anything from that field. He found the archives of Hesse-Cassel closed to him as to others, but through the instrumentality of Friedrich Kapp and others he secured possession of private journals and reports of the Hessian officers, and caused searches to be made in the wide field of the contemporary publications in Germany for letters and criticisms on the part of the German auxiliaries in the war, which he considers "in the main the most important of all that have been preserved."[2] From Berlin he got the reports made to the Duke of Brunswick by his officers, which have finally found a lodgment in the Russian archives; and he also secured the collections which Max von Eelking, the writer on the Hessian story, had amassed in his studies. He likewise obtained copies of the correspondence of Frederick the Great with his foreign ministers, so far as it touched upon the affairs of America. From Moscow and Vienna, from Holland and from Spain, other documents came to swell the records, which have enabled him to make his account of the foreign relations of the Confederacy the best by far which has been prepared.[3]

His wealth of American papers is probably for their scope unsurpassed in private hands. He had of course at his command the resources of the government archives and those of the original States; he could examine the papers of the Revolution gathered in public libraries, and in the cabinets of historical societies; and besides these, he had his own gatherings: the correspondence of the agents of the various colonies in London prior to the outbreak of actual war, like Bollan, Jasper Mauduit, Richard Jackson, Arthur Lee, Franklin, W. S. Johnson, and others; the papers, more or less extensive, of Hutchinson, Israel Mauduit, Pownall, Hollis, Mayhew, Andrew Eliot, Colden, Bernard; and above all the papers of Samuel Adams, which passed into Mr. Bancroft's hands some years ago.

He speaks also of two volumes of papers of Greene, and the papers of Anthony Wayne, which were submitted to his inspection.

In volume vii. Bancroft departed from the plan which he had pursued in earlier volumes, and began to omit all notes, whether of reference or explanation, — a change in method of which he makes no mention in his prefaces. During the course of the three remaining volumes, while he is not constant in withholding these helps, and seems to return at times to their use in a somewhat irregular way, the text is left in the main to stand on its own merits, though there is a tendency towards the end to revert to the earlier habit. The original octavo edition was hardly completed for the period of the war when their author gave, as he says, a solid year to a revision, which appeared in a smaller size, called the *Centenary Edition*, of which vols. iii. to vi., issued in 1879, constitute the history of the Revolution.[4] He made the revision in the light of later developments, and carried it much farther than he had been able to do from time to time, in such alterations as could be made in the plates of the original editions, which can be readily traced in the earlier volumes by the change in the cut of the type employed. "A few statements disappear," he says, "some new ones find their place." He omits the older prefaces, and retains scarcely any of the notes, — the absence of which has rendered the original edition for scholarly use generally more acceptable than the revision; and the same reason is in some degrees also to affect the comparative value of his final revision, from which the notes are perhaps still more rigidly excluded. This final edition was issued between 1883 and 1885, restored to the octavo shape, and condensing in six volumes the matter of the original twelve (including two on the *History of the Constitution*, — his last contribution), and coming down to the organization of the federal government under the Constitution. The process of this "author's last revision," as he calls it, has been a chastening one. The changes in arrangement and subdivisions are considerable, and all tend to a better ordering of the narrative. The language is toned to a riper quality; repetitions and redundancies are removed; there are frequent omissions and condensations, while the story is more nearly a pure narrative, in which the historian is content, as he should be, "to leave events, as they sweep onward, to speak their own condemnation or praise." The history of the Revolution begins in the middle of the second volume. It is apparent that these final changes have better fitted the historian's labors for permanent favor. His learning and the extraordinary resources of his material are likely to make his work necessary for the student till another with equal or better facilities shall compass the subject in a way to gain wider sympathy. The opposition which some of his views have met thus far may indicate that political affiliations and cherished beliefs may continue at times to be crossed by his judgments and strained by his sympathies. Lecky, in his *England in the Eighteenth Century* (vol. iii. 369), speaks of the "violent partisanship which so greatly impairs the value of Bancroft's very learned history." An incisive way, even if devoid of advocacies, is sure to invite such criticism.[5]

[1] These have since been published, edited by Donne.

[2] Cf. Critical Essay to Edw. J. Lowell's chapter i. of Vol. VII. of the present *History*.

[3] Cf. J. C. Derby, *Fifty Years among Authors*, p. 323, for Mr. Bancroft's conversations on the subject.

[4] Cf. on the original edition C. K. Adams's *Manual of Historical Literature*, p. 530.

[5] Cf. references in Allibone, i. 110; and in *Poole's Index*, p. 1350.

Some of the principal arraignments of Bancroft's judg-

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Alden Bradford, of Massachusetts, published a *History of the Federal Government, 1789–1839*, at Boston in 1840. Bradford was a busy compiler, and this work has little distinctive merit.

ments may be mentioned. In respect to the conduct of Col. Timothy Pickering in his failure to assist in the rout of the royal troops on April 19, 1775, Bancroft took a view which had been early held respecting Pickering's dilatoriness in bringing up the Essex regiment, or a portion of it, to intercept the British. Col. Samuel Swett published a *Defence of Col. Timothy Pickering against Bancroft's History* (Boston, 1859). The testimony and opposing judgments on this point have since been canvassed in the *Life of Col. Pickering*, by Octavius Pickering.

In what Bancroft had to say of General Greene, in his ninth volume, the general's grandson found fourteen points to complain of. Chief among them are criticisms upon Greene's conduct in respect to Fort Washington and Brandywine, as to which exceptions were taken in *An examination of some statements concerning Maj. Gen. Greene, in the ninth volume of Bancroft's History, by George Washington Greene* (Boston, 1866).

To this Bancroft made a *Reply*, which was printed in the *North Amer. Review*, April, 1867, and to this Greene made a *Rejoinder*, in the same periodical (vol. cv. 332), and all three papers are reprinted by Greene in the Appendix (vol. ii.) of his *Life of Gen. Greene* (cf. *Hist. Mag.*, xi. 124; xii. 78, 131), — an elaborate biography, based on the Greene Papers, without the aid of which Geo. W. Greene had earlier produced the life which makes part of Sparks's *Amer. Biography* (vol. xx.). (Cf. also *No. Am. Review*, Jan., 1867, espousing Bancroft's side, and *Harper's Mag.*, Feb., 1867, on Greene's.)

A charge by Bancroft, also, in his ninth volume, that General Schuyler was suspected of cowardice during the progress of the Northern campaign in 1777, led to a correspondence begun with him by Geo. L. Schuyler, during which Bancroft furnished what seemed to him sufficient ground for the allegation, though it did not so seem to his questioner. The result was a pamphlet published by Geo. L. Schuyler, called *Correspondence and Remarks upon Bancroft's History of the Northern Campaign of 1777 and the Character of Maj.-Gen. Schuyler* (N. Y., 1867).

The defence of Schuyler was further undertaken by Lossing, in his *Life and Times of Maj.-Gen. Schuyler* (vol. ii. 325, etc.). Bancroft in his final revision (vol. v. 164, etc.) has changed his treatment somewhat, substituting in one place "want of spirit" for "cowardice," but not in any large degree softening the expressions that provoked the censure. Cf. note by John C. Hamilton in his *Life of Hamilton* (1879 ed., vol. i. Appendix).

The character of General Sullivan was another point upon which Bancroft elicited criticism. The military record of this officer had early been the subject of animadversions. O. W. B. Peabody, in the life of Sullivan in Sparks' *Amer. Biography* (new series, vol. iii.), had undertaken to correct the traditional censure, and had called Gordon's estimate too invariably severe. Peabody had had access to the *Sullivan Papers*, then in the custody of the Hon. John Sullivan of Exeter, N. H., and he had used such of Sullivan's letters to Washington as Mr. Sparks had in his collections (*Sparks MSS.*, no. xx.). This remained for some time the most considerable record of Sullivan's career, and was not added to in any essential parts by the memoir in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.* (vol. vii. 137) and in the centennial sketch by T. C. Amory in the *Penna. Mag. of Hist.* (vol. ii. 196). Bancroft's ninth volume questioned Sullivan's character and military conduct with some sharpness. A defence was now laboriously undertaken by Mr. Thomas C. Amory, a descendant, in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.* (Dec., 1866, p. 380) and in the supplement of the *Hist. Mag.* (1866, p. 161), — the last also printed separately as *Gen. John Sullivan, a Vindication of his Character* (Morrisania, 1867); and again Mr. Amory's views were systematically presented in his *Military services and public life of Gen. John Sullivan* (Boston and Albany, 1868). A more serious charge — that of mercenary dependence on a foreign power, though an ally — was made by Bancroft in his tenth volume (p. 502), where, speaking of the settlement of the fishery question, he said that the fact of New Hampshire abandoning her claim was due to Sullivan, "who at the time was a pensioner of Luzerne." At the demand of Mr. Amory, Bancroft produced a letter of Luzerne to Vergennes, May 13, 1781, in which the minister explains to the home government that, finding Sullivan needy, he had assisted him with money, which so far met the approval of the French ministry that they directed Luzerne to carry the amount to his account for "extraordinary expenses." (This letter is in the *Sparks MSS.*, xxxii. vol. i.) Amory printed Luzerne's letter with a translation in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.* (Dec., 1874, p. 383), and sought to explain that the loan in no way compromised Sullivan's independence. Cf. *Legal Gazette*, vii. 100. He also presented his explanation or extenuation in the *N. H. Hist. Soc. Proc.* (1876–1884, p. 100), and in a separate brochure, *Gen. Sullivan not a pensioner of Luzerne* (Boston, 1873, two editions), to which was appended an apologetical report by a committee of the New Hampshire Historical Society. It seems hard to escape the conviction that no sensitive or sensible patriot would under any circumstances have thus compromised his independence of character. Bancroft modified his language in his Centenary edition (vi. 377), and said, "It fell, therefore, to Sullivan, who was in the pay of France, to carry the amendments by the vote of his State;" and in his final revision (vol. v. 473) the passage reads: "But Sullivan, who had borrowed money from the minister of France, secured the amendments by the vote of his State."

It was already known that Peter Livius, a well-known New Hampshire Tory, in a letter from Montreal, dated June 2, 1777 (Amory's *Sullivan*, 302), had written to Sullivan, as to one to whom he could dare propose, in terms that rendered it necessary to conceal the epistle in its transit, and that it had been intercepted by Schuyler (*Pennsylvania Mag. of Hist.*, vi. 245).

When the secret journal of Sir Henry Clinton was published in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.* (vol. xi. 157–158, 538), other evidences were disclosed that seemed to implicate Sullivan in seeking personal or family ends, even at the sacrifice of his patriotic standing, and led to further explanations by Mr. Amory, in the *Mag. of Amer. History* (vol. xi. 353) and in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.* (1884, p. 48), where, however, the reader is in no way put in possession of the exact charge which the defence is intended to meet, though the "information" recorded in Clinton's journal, dated July 4, 1781, and signed Daniel Sullivan, is printed in an Appendix to this paper as published separately under the title of *Daniel Sullivan's visits, May and June, 1781, to Gen. John Sullivan in Philadelphia, to explain declarations in Sir Henry Clinton's Secret Journal* (Cambridge, 1884).

Papers of Gen. Sullivan respecting charges against him for bad conduct in the Staten Island expedition and at the Brandywine (1777), and as transmitted by him to Gov Langdon (*N. H. State Papers*, viii. 743), are printed in *Ibid.* xvii. p. 154, etc.

The course of what is known as the Reed-Cadwalader controversy may be thus traced: In a time of high political excitement at the end of the war, when Joseph Reed and John Cadwalader, who had been companions in arms during the war, were now politically opposed in Pennsylvania politics, a communication appeared in the *Independent Gazetteer* (Philadelphia, Sept. 7, 1782), signed "Brutus," charging upon Joseph Reed an inclination towards defection at the gloomy period just preceding the battle of Trenton (reprinted in W. B. Reed's *President*

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The third volume (New York, Harpers, 1849) of Richard Hildreth's *History of the United States* covers the period of the Revolution; it is judicious, definite, based on good research mainly as regards printed authorities; but it is too condensed and dry to be engaging.[1] The new and revised edition (copyrighted 1877 and 1879) embraces not only the three volumes of his first series, but also the three which he subsequently published (originally in 1851), bringing the recital down to 1821. He gives his authorities in a mass in the third and sixth volumes, — not a desirable way, — and explains his purpose to write "undistorted by prejudice, and uncolored by excitement," and a merit of this kind is commonly awarded to him, and though his book is not an attractive one, it is one to be treated with deference. Lecky[2] praises his impartial method and severe truthfulness.

Reed). This drew from Joseph Reed a denial in *Remarks on a late publication in the Independent Gazetteer, with a short address to the people of Pennsylvania on the many libels and slanders which have lately appeared against the Author.* Gen. Cadwalader, being charged with being "Brutus," denied it; but reaffirmed the charges made by that anonymous writer more explicitly in *A Reply to Gen. Joseph Reed's Remarks on a late publication . . . with some observations on his Address to the people of Pennsylvania* (Philad., 1783, — Sabin, iii. no. 9836). The charge here was direct that Reed had thought at one time of making peace with the enemy, and that he had entered into correspondence with Count Donop, a Hessian officer, to that end; and such charges were in the main held to be substantiated by the evidence of respectable contemporaries introduced by Cadwalader in his tract. Much sympathy was expressed for Reed by Washington and others. (Cf. Washington to Reed, Sept. 15, 1782.) In 1842 the controversy was revived by a series of letters in the *Evening Journal* of Philadelphia, signed "Valley Forge," in which letters purporting to be written by Gen. Samuel Smith, Anthony Wayne, and others were made to support the charge of Cadwalader with considerable detail, calculated to create animosity against Reed's memory. An investigation seemed to make it conclusive that the quoted letters were forgeries, and William B. Reed in a tract, *The Valley Forge Forgeries*, made it so appear. Before this, however, W. B. Reed had published his *Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed, by his grandson* (Philad., 1847, in two volumes),* in which he had barely alluded to the Cadwalader charges, out of an unwillingness — as he says — to rekindle the embers of an old strife; leaving the reader to infer that the political animosities of 1782 so entered into the opposing tracts that they had lost all value as historical evidence. The grandson subsequently betrayed the belief that the forgers of 1842 were responsible for the reprints of the Cadwalader tract which appeared at Trenton in 1846, and at Philadelphia in 1848, and of the preface to them, which endorsed the charges of the letters of 1842. Again, in 1856, Mr. Horace W. Smith reprinted at Philadelphia the Cadwalader tract and the Valley Forge letters, with a preface, reflecting on Joseph Reed's character, in a tract styled *Nuts for future historians to crack* (*Cooke Catal.*, no. 2297). It was this publication that induced Mr. W. B. Reed to print the evidences of the "Valley Forge forgeries." Both the Joseph Reed and Cadwalader tracts were once more reprinted at Albany, but without name of editor or publisher, in 1863. (The bibliography of Joseph Reed is traced by Sabin, xvi. 68,568, etc.)

When Mr. John C. Hamilton published the second volume of his *Hist. of the Republic of the United States*, his views of Joseph Reed revived the controversy once more, and resulted in *President Joseph Reed of Pennsylvania, a correspondence between Wm. B. Reed and J. C. Hamilton* (Morrisania, 1867), separately printed from the *Hist. Mag.*, Dec., 1866. (Cf. also *Ibid.*, April and Dec., 1867, and Jan., 1869.)

In 1866 also appeared vol. ix. of Bancroft's *History of the United States*, in which all the old charges against Joseph Reed were renewed, with characterizations that attached to his reputation the faults of vacillation and pusillanimity. An extract from the diary of Count Donop was adduced to show that a Col. Reed had received a protection from the British in 1776, and Bancroft never at that time recognized that this could be other than Joseph Reed, or that the report could be other than determinate. Mr. Wm. B. Reed in Feb., 1867, published two editions of a response called *President Reed of Pennsylvania, a reply to Mr. George Bancroft and others* (Philad., 1867). The chief points that he made against Bancroft's new allegation were that the Donop story was a mere rumor, and that there were other Col. Reeds of whom the Hessian journal might have spoken. (Cf. *Atlantic Monthly*, June, 1867, p. 762, — unfavorable to Bancroft.) Bancroft replied in *Joseph Reed, an historical Essay* (N. Y., 1867), reiterating the charges, and claiming that the Donop language in the particular passage in question was descriptive, and not part of the attendant hearsay. Mr. W. B. Reed closed the controversy, as between him and Bancroft, in his *Rejoinder to Mr. Bancroft's Historical Essay on President Reed* (Philad., 1867, — cf. also *Hist. Mag.*, xi. 249).

Mr. Reed in his first pamphlet had charged Dr. Benjamin Rush with being the "Brutus" of 1782, and with otherwise abetting the Cadwalader charges. This called forth two rejoinders. One was *A Criticism on Mr. Wm. B. Reed's aspersions on the character of Dr. Benjamin Rush, and an incidental consideration of Gen. Joseph Reed's character, by a member of the Philadelphia bar* [John G. Johnson] (Philad., 1867) — in which the arguments and proofs of the Cadwalader tract were largely reproduced. The other was Benjamin Rush's *William B. Reed of Chestnut Hill, Expert in the art of Exhumation of the Dead*, which was printed in London and reprinted in Philadelphia in 1867. This last is an unfortunate exhibition of personalities, of no assistance in the examination of the points at issue, except so far as it shows that present social and political variances were not wholly apart in some minds from the consideration of the subject. In 1869, Mr. H. B. Dawson, in the January number of the *Hist. Mag.* (vol. xv. p. 45, etc.), examined the Donop charge, reaching conclusions against Bancroft, and intimating that the language of the Hessian record must apply to some other than Col. *Joseph* Reed. In 1876 the question, so far as the reference in Donop goes, was settled by a discovery made by Adj.-Gen. W. S. Stryker of New Jersey, who found in the records of his office evidence to show that it was a militia Col. *Charles Read* to whom the Hessian rumor referred. This was made to appear in *The Reed controversy: Further facts with reference to the character of Joseph Reed, adjutant general on the staff of General Washington. Printed for private distribution* (Trenton, N. J., 1876). The effect of this disclosure was that Bancroft modified his language in his Centenary Edition, 1876, so far as to remove the distinct charge of applying for a protection; but in other respects his characterization of Joseph Reed appears in this, and in his final revision, much the same. He omits altogether the note of his original edition (vol. v. 478) in which he had cited the various references to a Col. Reed in the Hessian diary (Gay's *United States*, iii. 527; *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, i. 114).

* This life of Joseph Reed was the earliest book on the Revolutionary history of Pennsylvania, if we except Alexander Graydon's *Memoirs of a life chiefly passed in Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, 1811), which is called in a second edition, edited by J. S. Littell, *Memoirs of his own time, with reminiscences of men and events of the Revolution* (Philad., 1846).

[1] C. K. Adams' *Manual of Hist. Lit.*, p. 533.

[2] Vol. iv. 105.

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In 1851–52, the *Pictorial Field-book of the Revolution*, by Benson J. Lossing, was published in New York in two volumes. The author, as he journeyed over the country in making his record, had the advantage of gathering many of the local traditions and even the recollections of survivors of the struggle. In this way the book is a pleasing commentary on the regular histories of the war;[1] and the author adds much to the intelligibility of the campaigns and actions by his study of the topography of the country. "To gather the pictorial and other material, I travelled more than 8,000 miles in the old thirteen States and Canada," says the author. When he issued his *Pictorial Fieldbook of the War of 1812* (N. Y., 1869), he filled the intervening space in this later narrative, so that the two works constitute a history of the United States from the opening of the war of the Revolution to the close of that with England in 1815. In the second work there is a good deal more freedom from the trammels which his itinerary method imposed on his earlier work, and it is in the main a progressive narrative, richly illustrated, and embodying a large amount of local detail.

The first volume of Geo. Tucker's *History of the United States from their colonization to 1841* (Philad., 1856) embraced a condensed account of the Revolution, formed in the main upon Gordon, Marshall, the *Annual Register*, and Sparks's *Washington*. It is chiefly valuable, however, for its later periods, and while Southern in temper, is not violently so. It is a good offset to Hildreth.[2]

In 1858, Mr. Henry B. Dawson published his *Battles of the United States by sea and land: embracing those of the revolutionary and Indian wars, the war of 1812, and the Mexican war; with important official documents* (New York), in two volumes. The first volume is devoted to the Revolution, and it tells the story of ninety-nine actions, great and small. His plan is to give an authority for every statement, and to follow each important fight, with an appendix of the official despatches on both sides, and with an occasional biographical sketch of a leading actor in the scene. The references are very useful.[3]

In 1859, Mr. Frank Moore published his *Diary of the American Revolution from newspapers and original documents* (New York). In two octavo volumes of about 1100 pages in all he puts in chronological sequence his abundance of excerpts "from the Whig and Tory newspapers, private diaries, and other contemporaneous writings," urging that "the errors and lampoons of a period belong as much to its history as the facts and flatteries."[4]

The conscientious and painstaking work of Richard Frothingham, the *Rise of the Republic of the United States*, was published in 1872, and passed to a third edition in 1881.[5] Most of the book is given to a clear exposition of the growth of the sentiment of union and independence between 1760 and 1776, with a final chapter on the working out of the forms of republican government in the States and in their confederacy and union.[6]

Respecting the earliest of the military histories of the Revolution, Thomas McKean, writing from Philadelphia to John Adams in 1815, tells him that he had just heard that Gen. James Wilkinson had written the history of the American Revolution, and judges that he may be well qualified to give good descriptions of the purely military aspects of the war, and that he had been writing it at Germantown during the last seven or eight months, and that he had kept himself so retired and private that McKean, who knew him, was hardly aware of his being so near him. The book was published at Philadelphia in 1816, as *Memoirs of my Own Times*, in three volumes. The work was eagerly accepted, and the 1500 copies which were printed were not sufficient to supply the subscribers.[7] The book, however, deals very largely with Wilkinson's later career, and is in part a vindication. It is to be used with caution, and is defective in its method, with more or less disturbance of a chronological order.

The most important of the military histories of the Revolutionary War is Col. Henry B. Carrington's *Battles of the American Revolution, 1775–1781; historical and military criticism, with topographical illustrations* (New York, copyrighted 1876). He gives 41 eclectic maps of campaigns or engagements, and acknowledges the great personal assistance of Lossing, who had visited and sketched every battlefield described. He lays down at the beginning the principles of military science, which he applies to his consideration of the several battles.[8]

[1] The volumes were of somewhat unequal thickness when first issued, and in later issues, by equalizing the size, the original pagination was disarranged, so that references do not always agree. Cf. Duyckinck's *Cy. Am. Lit. Supplement*, 106; J. C. Derby's *Fifty years among Authors*, p. 686.

[2] C. K. Adams' *Man. of Hist. Lit.*, p. 537.

[3] Cf. Sabin, v. 268; Duyckinck, *Supplement*, 140; portrait and memoir of Dawson, by John Ward Dean, in *Hist. Mag.*, xiv. 257 (Dec., 1868). Mr. Dawson did not originate the *Historical Mag.*, which was begun in Boston in 1857, but he later assumed charge of it, and held it till it ceased with the no. for Jan., 1874. Cf. *N. E. Hist. Geneal. Reg.*, 1878, p. 116. The magazine had for some years a precarious existence, and the numbers for Sept.–Dec., 1871, and April, 1872–March, 1873, were never issued. Mr. Dawson as an editor had a tendency for episodes of the Revolution, and the magazine is often of much assistance to the students of that period. As an historical writer he is fearless and searching; but he finds it impossible to differ unless with acrimony. Pitkin and Hildreth are about the only ones to receive his commendations, and Bancroft and J. C. Hamilton are the particular objects of his aversion. Mr. Dawson died in 1889, after a long illness.

[4] There were later editions, two volumes in one in 1863, and large paper in 1865. It has an index.

[5] Cf. reviews noted in *Poole's Index*, p. 1350.

[6] Cf. Thaddeus Allen's *Inquiry into the views, principles, services, and influences of the leading men in the origination of the American Union* (Boston, 1849); and J. A. Jameson's *Constitutional Convention* (1866, third ed., revised, 1873). The references in Barry's *Massachusetts* are useful.

[7] *Cooke Catalogue*, iii. no. 2729. Letters (copies) of Wilkinson, April 9 and 13, 1817, on his memoirs are in the *Sparks MSS.*, no. xxxix.

[8] Henry B. Carrington's *Battle Maps and Charts of the American Revolution, with explanatory notes and references* (New York, 1881), is a later issue of his plans, illustrations, etc.

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The latest considerable narrative of the Revolution and the later periods is contained in the third (1879) and fourth (1881) volumes of the *Popular Hist. of the United States*, published by the Scribners in New York, and, with daring unusual even in the book trade, it purports to have been prepared by Wm. C. Bryant and Sydney Howard Gay. The care of Mr. Bryant in the work was scarcely more than any friend would do for an author, and unfortunately it is not a solitary instance of such unwarranted presentation of his distinguished name. He was dead, moreover, during the progress of more than half of the book. The main responsibility rests upon Mr. Gay, but he had in some parts the assistance of Edward Everett Hale. The work is in four large octavos, and as respects the Revolutionary period is an excellent book for the general reader. The narrative in the last volume is continued to the close of the Civil War of 1861–65, and is far more condensed than in the earlier volumes.

There are now in course of publication two important histories of the United States since the organization of the government, those of Schouler and McMaster. The *History of the United States of America under the Constitution*, by James Schouler, having in an introductory way followed the course of events from the close of the war to 1789, enters upon its subject with the inauguration of Washington. The first volume, bringing the story down to the close of John Adams's administration, was published in 1880; the second volume, in 1882, ended with 1817; the third, in 1885, with 1831; and the fourth, in 1889, with 1847.[1] The work is closely studied, founded on a large range of printed sources, and upon such unpublished material as the Monroe Papers in the Department of State, which he is the first to use to a considerable extent. The author is not without sympathies, but they are not extravagant ones; and he sometimes reverses the judgments of Hildreth, particularly upon party leaders. He has a tendency to character-painting, and is usually successful in the effort; his method is graphic, and his manner helps the method. His vividness of style is for the most part confined to salient occasions. There is perhaps a tendency in the last volume, as his hand becomes more practised, to rely more upon his skill than upon his investigations.

While Schouler has not by any means neglected the study of the life of the times, of which he tells the political history, these details are in his book more particularly subordinated to the course of governmental progress than is the case with John Bach McMaster's *History of the People of the United States from the Revolution to the Civil War, in five volumes*, two of which (N.Y., 1883 and 1885) have thus far been published, bringing the narrative into Jefferson's administration. McMaster's method is of the modern kind, which does not ignore the things once deemed below the dignity of history,[2] and his manner is of a sort that aims to hold a reader with the startling groupings and contrasts of the varied and possible interests of the subject. The dangers of such a habit are patent, — a picturesqueness and epigrams that tire the scholar a little, and unsettles his faith while it fascinates the pastime reader. His study has been laborious; but one asks if newspapers were more trustworthy then than now, that so much should be granted to their evidence. To weave his multitudinous learning together makes him sometimes diffuse and repetitionary; and he is not free from sharp characterizations that seem to lack the evidence of their justness, and bear the signs of a rhetorical origin.[3]

[1] It is intended to carry the narrative to the outbreak of the Civil War.

[2] The method of Green in his *History of the English People*, and of McMaster, is challenged in Seeley's *Expansion of England*. It is a fair question what to call such books which can but show some of the ill effects of subordinating history to philosophy and manners. There is no question that books like Green's and McMaster's should be written, call them what you will. Cf. Judge Mellen Chamberlain's review of McMaster in the *Andover Review*, June, 1886, and separately. Asa Bird Gardiner severely criticises McMaster in the *U. S. Mil. Service Inst. Journal*, 1887.

[3] It has not been the purpose in this review of the histories of American progress under the federal organization to conflict with sections which are given in other places in the present work to histories of confined periods, or of special distinction. Cf. *Our National Centennial Jubilee orations, poems, etc. Delivered July 4, 1876, in the several States of the Union, ed. by Frederick Saunders* (N. Y., 1877).

The histories of lesser importance respecting the Revolutionary war and later periods are numerous, a few of which may be mentioned: —

Geo. W. Greene's *Hist. View of the American Revolution* (Boston, 1865) embodies public lectures which group the story by its divisionary phases, rather than in chronological order.

Of a popular character also is J. F. Schroeder's *Life and Times of Washington*, which was revised and enlarged by Benson J. Lossing (New York, 1879).

L. Carroll Judson's *Sages and Heroes of the American Revolution* (Philad., 1852).

A distinctive military character has been a frequent characteristic of the more popular histories, like John Lewis Thomson's *Hist. of the Wars of the United States* (Philad., 1854), in two volumes; Thomas Y. Rhoads' *Battlefields of the Revolution* (Boston, 1856); Robert Tomes' *Battles of America by sea and land* (New York, 1861, etc.), a subscription book in three quarto volumes, with steel plates; B. J. Lossing's *Hist. of our Wars with Great Britain* (New York, 1876), in three volumes; Joel T. Headley's *Washington and his Generals;* H. C. Watson's *Campfires of the Revolution*, a book which has passed through many editions; and Willard Glazier's *Heroes of Three Wars* (Philad., 1882).

There are a large number of compendious histories of the United States of little or of no original value. Only a few can be mentioned. At the beginning of the century we find E. G. Marsh's *Supplement to Dr. Priestley's Lectures on History, exhibiting a series of American histories* (New Haven, 1801). A past generation was more or less familiar with C. B. Taylor's *Universal Hist. of the U. S.* (Buffalo, 1834); Salma Hale's *Hist. of the U. S. to 1817*, making two volumes of Harpers' Family Library, which was originally published at Keene, N. H., in 1830; and Ezekiel Sandford's *Hist. of the U. S.* (Philad., 1819). Emma C. Willard's school history was long popular, but it was attacked in Marcius Willson's *Report on American histories* (N. Y., 1847, — from *Bibl. Repository*, July, 1846), which led to controversy between its author and her critic. There is no elaborate Roman Catholic history of the United States; but the key to such a treatment can be gained from

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The military aspects of the Revolutionary and later periods necessarily form the staple of the memoirs of the military leaders, which need not be repeated here.

For the Revolutionary times, the lives of the principal aides of Washington, like the *Life of Hamilton*, Col. John Trumbull's *Autobiography* (New York, 1841), and the *Memoir of Lieut. Col. Tench Tilghman* (Albany, 1876), let us into some of the more secret counsels of headquarters.

Washington said, in a letter to Noah Webster, July 31, 1788, "Notwithstanding most of the papers which may perhaps be deemed official are preserved; yet the knowledge of innumerable things of a more delicate and secret nature is confined to the perishable remembrance of some few of the present generation."[1]

No statement can be easily formed of the entire force constituting the Continental line and the militia of the American army during the war. Gen. Knox, in 1790, when secretary of war, made a report disclosing the number on the rolls for each year, by States, and as divided between the line and the militia; but the table does not serve to show the whole number in service during the war. His figures, however, have been repeatedly aggregated and used for this purpose, giving currency to very erroneous ideas of the extent of the service.[2]

The officers of the several wars and of the regular service are rated after 1779 in T. H. S. Hammersly's *Army Register of the United States* (Washington, 1880).[3]

Thomas D'Arcy McGee's lectures on *The Catholic Hist. of North America* (Boston, 1855). There is, however, a later Catholic school history by J. R. G. Hassard, of which the 8th edition was issued as a *History of the United States, with a preface by J. L. Spalding* (New York, 1887). An outline of general history, followed by sections in which each State is treated separately, is the method of J. W. Barber and Henry Howe's *Our Whole Country* (N. Y., 1861), in two large volumes. A narrative constructed to make evident "the divine guidance" constitutes a large octavo *History of the United States to Pierce's Administration*, by J. H. Patton (N. Y., 1860), which in 1876 reappeared as a *Concise History of the American People* (N. Y.), and with the same title, in two volumes, in 1883.

The fervor of the centennial period gave the public a large number of memorial histories of the country. Occasionally a competent hand for such work was shown, as when Benson J. Lossing, having published a *Hist. of the U. S.* (N. Y., 1857; Hartford, 1873), issued at Philad., in 1876, *The American Centenary: a history of the progress of the Republic of the U. S. during the first hundred years*. Mr. E. Edward Lester published a single volume, *Our first hundred years* (to 1815 only, — N. Y., 1875), but the period was wholly covered in his *Hist. of the U. S.* (N. Y., 1883). J. A. Spencer's *Hist. of the U. S.*, coming down to the administration of Buchanan, made three quarto volumes, issued originally in parts, beginning in 1856. Mrs. Abby Sage Richardson's *Hist. of our Country* (Boston, 1876). J. C. Ridpath's *Popular Hist. of the U. S.* (Cincinnati, 1877). J. T. Peck's *Great Republic* (N. Y., 1876), "written from a Christian standpoint." James D. M'Cabe's *Centennial Hist. of the U. S.* (Philad., 1876). C. B. Taylor's *Centennial Hist. of the U. S.* (N. Y., 1876). Jos. W. Leeds' *Hist. of the U. S.* (Philad., 1877). None of these is of use to the student. C. C. Coffin's *Building the Nation* (N. Y., 1883) covers the period from 1783 to 1860, and, though intended for youth, has some pictorial and other attractions for older readers.

A. H. Stephens's *Compendium of the History of the U. S. to 1872* (N. Y.), as coming from a leading Southern public man, has some distinctive traits.

There were published in *Harper's Magazine* a series of papers which were collectively issued as *The first Century of the Republic, a review of American progress* (N. Y., 1876). These papers, coming from special students, had more than a temporary value. The subjects were: Colonial progress, by Eugene Lawrence; Mechanical progress, by E. H. Knight; Progress in manufacture, by D. A. Wells; Agricultural progress, by W. H. Brewer; The development of our mineral resources, by T. S. Hunt; Commercial development, by Edward Atkinson; Growth and distribution of population, by F. A. Walker; Monetary development, by W. G. Sumner; The experiment of the Union, with its preparations, by T. D. Woolsey; Educational progress, by Eugene Lawrence; Scientific progress: I. The exact sciences, by F. A. P. Barnard; II. Natural science, by Theodore Gill; A century of American literature, by E. P. Whipple; Progress of the fine arts, by S. S. Conant; Medical and sanitary progress, by Austin Flint; American jurisprudence, by B. V. Abbott; Humanitarian progress, by C. L. Brace; Religious development, by J. F. Hurst.

A recent compendious history of literary merit is the *Larger History of the U. S. to the Close of Jackson's Administration*, by Col. T. W. Higginson (N. Y., 1886). Edward Eggleston has published a school history which particularly emphasizes the social aspects, and he has also embodied his studies in a history for family use. Horace E. Scudder has written a general school history, preserving the proportions of interest in all the periods, while that of Alexander Johnston gives particular prominence to the later political history.

Among various books of ready reference value may be mentioned Edward Abbott's *Paragraph Hist. of the U. S.* (Boston, 1875); Edward Howland's *Annals of N. America* (London and Hartford, 1877); E. E. Childs' *Hist. of the U. S. in chronological order, 1492–1885*; E. O. Haven's *American Progress* (N. Y., 1876), — but such compilations are commonly made without much verification of statement. The publication arranged by F. W. Hewes and H. Gannett, and known as *Scribner's Statistical Atlas of the U. S., showing by graphic methods their present condition, and their political, social, and industrial development* (N. Y., 1883, 1885), is an excellent companion in historical study. Cf. the "Tabulated History of the General Government" in Cooper and Fenton's *American Politics*.

Another book of particular reference value is J. J. Lalor's *Cyclopædia of political science, political economy, and of the political history of the United States* (Chicago, 1881–84, in 3 vols.), in which the articles relating to American political history are excellently well prepared by the late Alexander Johnston (died 1889). Other convenient tablebooks are G. H. Getchell's *Our nation's executives and their administrations* (New York, 1885), which covers the growth of the government from 1775 to 1885; and Charles Lanman's *Biographical Annals of the civil government of the United States, 1776–1886* (Washington, 1886).

History is linked with biography in *The American Statesmen Series*, edited by John T. Morse, Jr.; and for more confined periods in Joseph G. Baldwin's *Party Leaders* (N. Y., 1855); R. T. Craighill's *Virginia Peerage* (Richmond, 1880); and Charles Mackay's *Founders of the American Republic* (Edinburgh, 1885).

[1] *Amer. Antiq. Soc. Proc.*, i. 327.

[2] Cf. paper by Justin Winsor in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Jan., 1886, and separately in his *Two Brief Papers*.

[3] Cf., on the army of the Revolution, Winthrop Sargent in the *No. Amer. Rev.*, lxxvii., and a chapter in G. W. Greene's *Historical View of the Amer. Revolution*. There are occasional regimental histories, like F. Kidder's *First New Hampshire Regiment*, Balch's *Maryland Line*, and a paper on the Ninth Virginia Regiment of the Continental

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The Pension Act of Sept., 1775, is given in *5 Force's Amer. Archives*, ii. 448;[1] and for similar provisions of the survivors of later wars, see the references in B. P. Poore's *Descriptive Catalogue of Governmental Publications*.

On the uniforms of the Revolutionary army, see *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, i. p. 461 (by Asa Bird Gardner), 417, 754; *Hist. Mag.*, iv. 353; *Potter's Amer. Monthly*, vi. 31; *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Jan., 1859 (by C. H. Warren).[2]

It is probable that the flags used in the early conflicts of the Revolutionary war were local ones, belonging to town and colony organizations. By some of the Southern people, a figure of a snake, with the motto "Don't tread on me!" seems to have been used. In New England, the pine-tree flag, usually shown in the upper inner square of the union, quartered by a cross, was usual. It was the flag borne in the earliest armed vessels sent out by Washington from Massachusetts ports (Frothingham's *Siege of Boston*, 103, 261; Lossing's *Field-Book*, i. 541). On the first of Jan., 1776, Washington at Cambridge hoisted what was known as the Union flag, indicating the banding of the colonies together, but not yet expressing independence. It was not absolutely determined what this device was till there was found among General Schuyler's papers a drawing of the schooner "Royal Savage," an armed vessel, which bore this flag on Lake Champlain in Aug., 1776. Lossing gives a cut of this drawing in his *Life of Schuyler* (ii. 114). The flag preserved the British union, but had the red and white stripes as now borne (*Siege of Boston*, 283; Gay, *Pop. Hist. U. S.*, 420–21). It was not till June 14, 1777, that Congress adopted the present flag, with a star for each of the thirteen States.

WASHINGTON'S BOOK PLATE.*

Admiral George H. Preble published in 1872 his *Our Flag; Origin and progress of the flag of the United States of America*, which in the revised edition as *History of the flag of the United States of America, and of the Naval and Yacht Club Signals, Seals, and Arms, and principal National Songs of the United States* (Boston, 1880) is an elaborate presentation of multifarious data on the subjects expressed in the title.[3] There is a somewhat curious coincidence in the three stars and bars which constitute the arms borne by Washington; and the inference has often been drawn that this shield suggested the flag adopted in 1777, but Admiral Preble thinks that proof of this is wholly wanting (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Jan., 1884, p. 28).[4]

Respecting the Commissary Department, we have: *The legislative history of the subsistence department of the United States army, 1775–1876, by J. W. Barriger* (Washington, 1877). Benjamin Rush published at Philadelphia in 1831 a *Life of Christopher Ludwick, the baker-general of the Army of the United States during the Revolution.*

line, in *Hist. Mag.*, vii. 172. On the expenses of the war, see Secretary Eustis' *Executive Reports, 12th Congress, 1st session*, Dec. 18, 1811; and G. W. Greene's *Historical View*, p. 455. On the manufacture of cannon, see a paper by J. D. Butler in *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, Aug., 1887. A committee reported on a cannon foundry as early as Nov. 2, 1776 (Force's *Amer. Archives*, iii. 424).

[1] Cf. references in B. Perley Poore's *Descriptive Catal. of Government Publications*, p. 1342, the *Revolutionary Pension Laws, compiled by W. S. Franklin under a resolve of the House of Representatives, Apr. 11, 1836*; and *A Census of Pensioners for Revolutionary or military services* (Washington, 1841). E. B. Hillard's *Last Men of the Revolution* (1864) is an account of seven Revolutionary pensioners then surviving. For an account of William Hutchings, the last Revolutionary pensioner in N. E., and the last but one on the rolls, see *Me. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, ix. 165. For the last survivor, see Poore's *Descriptive Catal., Government Publications*, p. 430; Lossing's *Empire State*, 329. There is a speech in the *Writings of Levi Woodbury* (i. 29) on the assistance (1828) to be given to the officers of the Revolution.

[2] Each man was allowed $23 for his uniform in Sept., 1775 (5 *Force's Am. Archives*, ii. 470), and the dress of both soldier and sailor established, Sept. 5, 1776 (*Ibid.*, ii. 182). On the buff and blue as Whig colors, see Lord Stanhope's *Miscellanies*, pp. 98, 116. It served the purpose of the Tories in Parliament to accuse the Whigs of wearing the rebel colors of buff and blue, as Fox did; but it would seem that the Americans had borrowed the Whig colors (*Mem. of Rockingham*, ii. 276; Wraxall's *Memoirs*, ii. 2, 229; May's *Const. Hist.*, ii. 151; Lecky, iv. 75). On the uniform of the War of 1812, see *Amer. Hist. Record*, i. 507.

[3] It includes a chapter on the State seals, arms, flags, and colors.

[4] Compare further, Schuyler Hamilton's *History of the*

* Reproduced from the fac-simile in Smith and Watson's *Hist. and Lit. Curiosities*, 1st series, 6th ed., pl. 1.

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On the subject of martial law during the Revolution there are papers by G. N. Lieber and A. B. Gardiner in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, i. 538, 705.

On the secret intelligence service of the Revolutionary war see *Mag. of American Hist.*, Feb., 1882, p. 95, and 1883, p. 58, and for personal experience in it, *The Spy Unmasked, or memoirs of Enoch Crosby, alias Harvey Birch; the hero of Mr. Cooper's Tale of the Neutral Ground, being an authentic account of the Secret Services which he rendered his country during the Revolutionary War, taken from his own lips, in short hand, containing many interesting facts and anecdotes never before published, by H. L. Barnum* (Cincinnati, 1831, second edition). Cf. G. W. P. Custis's *Recollections*, ch. x.

Respecting the employment of negroes in the Revolutionary army Col. Hays made a report to Congress, July 19, 1776, which is printed in *5 Amer. Archives*, i. p. 452. When the question of enlisting soldiers in the Federal army during the late civil war was under consideration, an elaborate examination of the status which they held as soldiers during the Revolution was made by Mr. George Livermore in his *Historical Research respecting the opinions of the founders of the Republic on negroes as slaves, as citizens, and as soldiers*, which was printed in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings* (Aug., 1862, vol. vi. p. 86), and separately (Boston, 1862).[1]

For further considerations on this topic, see George H. Moore's *Historical notes on the employment of negroes in the American Army of the Revolution* (New York, 1862), and Joseph T. Wilson's *The black phalanx; a history of the negro soldiers of the United States in the wars of 1775–1812, 1861–65* (Hartford, 1888).[2]

A History of the Negro Race in America, 1619–1880 (N. Y.), by George W. Williams, covers the service of negroes as soldiers in the Revolution and subsequent wars. Cf. also his *History of the negro troops in the war of the rebellion, 1861–1865; preceded by a review of the military services of negroes in ancient and modern times* (New York, 1888).

There have been published a large number of narratives of personal experiences of less known actors in the Revolutionary War, — some of which may be mentioned in a note.[3]

National Flag of the United States (Philad., 1852), and an abridgment, *Our National Flag* (1887); also his paper in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Feb., 1888, p. 150; *The History of our Flag, from the earliest period of our colonial existence down to the present time*, by Ferdinand L. Sarmiento (Philad. [1864]); *Potter's Amer. Monthly*, vi. 31; viii. 89; *Amer. Hist. Record*, vols. i. and ii.; *Hist. Mag.*, ix. 113; *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, vol. i.; *Appleton's Journal*, xv. 19; Cooper and Fenton's *American Politics*, book v.; J. F. Reigart's *Hist. of the first U. S. flag and the patriotism of Betsey Ross* (Harrisburg, 1878); documents in *4 Force's Archives*, iv.; W. H. Wilcox's *One hundred years ago; the history of the American flag* (New York, 1876); and Benjamin F. Prescott's *The stars and stripes. The flag of the United States of America; when, where, and by whom was it first saluted? The question answered* (Concord, 1876).

An emblematic picture in the *London Mag.* (Aug. 1778) shows the American flag as a standard with thirteen red stripes and twelve white ones, without a union.

Elkanah Watson tells a story of Copley, in Dec., 1782, painting in the American flag on a ship on the background of a portrait which he had made of Watson. The picture is engraved in Watson's *Life and Reminiscences* (Appleton, N. Y.) and in Preble's *Flag*, 2d ed., p. 297.

In Aug., 1776, John Adams retails to his wife the fancies prevailing in Congress for a seal. *Familiar letters*, 211.

Preble (2d ed., p. 683) also gives the history of the great seal of the United States, adopted June 20, 1782. (*Journals of Congress*, iv. 39.) There is an early engraving in the *Columbian Mag.*, i. 33, 50. Cf. Lossing's *Field-book of the Rev.*, ii. 862; a paper by Lossing with illustrations in *Harper's Mag.*, xiii. 179; J. D. Champlin in *The Galaxy*, xxiii. 691; some original papers on the device in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, ix. 351. On the origin of the motto "E Pluribus Unum," cf. *Amer. Jour. of Numismatics*, v. 27; xiii. 49; *Coin Collectors' Journal*, iv. 64; *Hist. Mag.*, iii. 121, 255; 2d ser. iv. 317; *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, ii. 444, 568, 636; *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xiii. 39; Hale's *Franklin in France*, 307.

On the seals of the departments of the government see B. J. Lossing in *Harper's Monthly*, xxxviii. 319.

Accounts of the medals struck by order of the government will be found in J. F. Loubat's *Medallic Hist. of the U. S., 1776–1876* (N. Y., 1878); C. H. Hart's *Hist. Sketch of the National Medals, 1776–1815* (Philad., 1867); R. M. McSherry's *National Medals of the U. S.* (Md. Hist. Soc. Fund, Publ. no. 25, Baltimore, 1887). Cf. *Harper's Monthly*, xi. 159; vii. 443; xxii. 163.

We find also in Preble the completest accounts of the several national songs — like "Hail Columbia" (cf. also *Poole's Index*, p. 565); "Adams and Liberty," by Robt. Treat Paine, sometimes called "The Sons of Columbia;" Jos. Rodman Drake's "American Flag;" and S. F. Smith's "America." Cf. Hopkinson's letter (1840) in the *Wyoming Hist. Soc. Proc.*, no. 3, p. 12; Buckingham's *Reminiscences*, ii. 106; Schouler, i. 388; McMaster, ii. 379, 384, 406; Duyckinck's *Cy. Amer. Lit.* He also tells the story of the most famous of all, "The Star-Spangled Banner," written at the time of the bombardment of Fort McHenry. Cf also Lossing's *War of 1812*, p. 958; Preble in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Jan. and Oct., 1874, and Jan., 1877; S. Salisbury in *Amer. Antiq. Soc. Proc.*, Oct. 21, 1872; Stockbridge's *Harris Coll. Amer. Poetry*, p. 277; *Poole's Index*, no. 1244. On F. S. Key, the author of the song, see Boyle's *Marylanders*. Higginson (*Larger Hist. U. S.*, 378) gives an interesting portrait of Key at seventeen.

Preble also traces the origin of "Yankee Doodle" (ii. p. 746). Cf. further, Elias Nason's *Monogram on our National Song* (Albany, 1869); *Hist. Mag.*, i. 86, 124, 221; ii. 214, 280; *Lippincott's Mag.*, xviii. 127; *Democratic Review*, v. 213; xxxv. 125; *Littell's Living Age*, lxx. 382. On the origin of the term Yankee, see *Hist. Mag.*, i. 58, 91, 156, 375; *Colburn's New Monthly Mag.*, ii. 213.

[1] See on Mr. Livermore, a paper by Chas. Deane in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, vol. x.; and *Amer. Antiq. Soc. Proc.*, Oct., 1865.

[2] Cf. J. G. Whittier's *Prose Works*, ii. 175; *Continental Monthly*, ii. 324; *Anthropological Review*, vii. 40; *Galaxy*, iii. 249; and W. C. Nell's *Colored Patriots of the American Revolution* (Boston, 1855).

[3] Charles Hersey's *Reminiscences of the Military life and sufferings of Col. Timothy Bigelow* (Worcester, 1860).

E. W. Caruther's *Life and character of Rev. David Caldwell* (Greensborough, N. C., 1842), relating to events in North Carolina.

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The personal experiences of the later wars seem as a rule to be more particularly connected with special events, and are accordingly mentioned in connection with such.

There is among Rufus Choate's occasional addresses one on the Eloquence of the Revolution; and this feature of the political fervor of the time is illustrated in Elisha L. Magoon's *Orators of the American Revolution* (3d ed., New York, 1848), which includes James Otis, Samuel Adams, Josiah Quincy, John Hancock, Joseph Warren, John Adams, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Alexander Hamilton, Fisher Ames, William Pinkney, William Wirt, Thomas Addis Emmet, and John Randolph.

The best arranged of the comprehensive collections is Alexander Johnston's *Representative American Orations to illustrate American political history, 1775–1881* (N. Y., 1884, in 3 vols.).[1]

The influence of the clergy upon the politics of the Revolution has been set forth in several books: Joel T. Headley's *Chaplains and Clergy of the Revolution* (New York, 1864); F. Moore's *Patriot Preachers of the Revolution* (N. Y., 1862); J. Wingate Thornton's *Pulpit of the American Revolution* (Boston, 1860), the last being characteristic sermons, with introductions and notes.[2]

The position of the Church of England clergy at the opening of the war is exemplified in the sermon of Archbishop Markham before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, Feb. 21, 1777, which when published was accompanied by a statement of the conditions in 1776–1777.[3]

Military Journal of Major Ebenezer Denny, an officer of the Revolutionary and Indian wars, with an introductory memoir (Philad., 1859).

John Smith Hanna's *History of the life and services of Samuel Dewees, a soldier of the revolutionary and last wars* (Baltimore, 1844).

Elijah Fisher's journal while in the war for Independence, 1775-1784 (Augusta, Me., 1880, pp. 29), edited by Dr. Wm. B. Lapham.

Mrs. Williams' *Biography of Revolutionary heroes — Stephen Olney and William Barton* (Providence, 1839).

The services of Constant Freeman, a captain of artillery in the Continental army, are related in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.* (vol. ii. 349).

E. M. Stone's *Life of John Howland* (Providence, 1857).

K. M. Hutchinson's *Memoir of Abijah Hutchinson, a soldier of the Revolution* (Rochester, 1843), — a captive among the Indians of Canada.

Haws' *Military Journal* (Poughkeepsie, 1855, published with Lyon's journal of Ticonderoga in 1758).

Geo. Inman's narrative published in the *Penna. Mag. of Hist.* (vii. 237).

The *Life of Captain David Perry, a soldier of the French and Revolutionary wars, written by himself* (Windsor, Vt., 1822).

Life and remarkable adventures of Israel R. Potter, who was a soldier in the American revolution (Providence, 1824).

Daniel Goodwin, Jr.'s *Memorial of the lives and services of James Pitts and his sons, John, Samuel, and Lendall, during the American revolution, 1760-80. With genealogical and historical appendix* (Chicago, 1882).

John C. Clyde's *Rosbrugh. a tale of the revolution; or life, labors, and death of Rev. John Rosbrugh* (Easton [Pa.], 1880).

The adventures of James Sharan (Baltimore, 1808).

The life of the Rev. M. Schlatter, chaplain in the French and Indian War and War of the Revolution, 1716-1790, by the Rev. H. Harbaugh (Philad., 1857).

Authentic narrative of the life of Joshua Slocum, containing a succinct account of his revolutionary services (Hartford, 1844).

The journal of Lieut. John Trevet, 1774–1782, in the *Rhode Island Hist. Mag.* (1885 and 1886).

John Wm. Wallace's *Old Philadelphian, Col. William Bradford, the patriot printer of 1776; sketches of his life.* (Philad., 1884, "one hundred copies, all for presentation.")

The Personal narrative of an officer in the revolutionary war in the *United Service* (xi. 200, 269).

Narrative of some adventures of a Revolution soldier (Hallowell, 1830).

Artemas Bowers Muzzey's *Reminiscences and memorials of men of the Revolution and their families* (Boston, 1883), is merely a conglomerate and eclectic record made by a recent writer.

I have seen in catalogues MS. copies of the *Journal of Thomas Blake, of Dorchester, Mass., ensign in the First New Hampshire Regiment from May 13, 1777, to Oct. 25, 1780*, but I have not seen that it has been printed.

The personal reminiscences of the Revolutionary war, by the late Thomas Painter, of West Haven, edited by Henry Howe, is printed in the *New Haven colony historical society papers*, iv. (New Haven, 1888).

Charles I. Bushnell in *Crumbs for Antiquarians* (1859–1866) has printed several of these Revolutionary narratives: —

Memoirs of Samuel Smith, a Soldier of the Revolution, 1776-1786; Journal of Solomon Nash, a Soldier of the Revolution, 1776-1777; Memoirs of Tarleton Brown, a Captain in the Revolutionary Army; A Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Levi Hanford, a Soldier of the Revolution; The Narrative of Major Abraham Leggett, of the Army of the Revolution; Narrative of the Exertions and Sufferings of Lieutenant James Moody in the Cause of Government, since the year 1776; The Narrative of John Blatchford, detailing his Sufferings in the Revolutionary War while a Prisoner with the British; The Narrative of Ebenezer Fletcher, a Soldier of the Revolution. Also: *A memoir of Eli Bickford, a soldier of the Revolution* (New York, 1865, — privately printed, 30 copies).

W. C. Watson's *Men and times of the Revolution, or Memoirs of Elkanah Watson* (New York, 2d ed., 1857).

[1] Other collections are: John W. Williams' *American Oratory* (Philad., 1836); S. C. Carpenter's *Select American Speeches* (Philad., 1836, in 2 vols.); S. H. Peabody's *American Patriotism; famous orations and patriotic papers connected with American history;* G. M. Whitman's *American orators and oratory*, with an introduction by Frank Gilbert (Chicago, 1884); W. C. Roberts' *Leading Orators of twenty-five Campaigns* (N. Y., 1884); David A. Harsha's *Most eminent orators and statesmen of ancient and modern times* (N. Y., 1854), including some Americans from Fisher Ames to Everett; a few "great speeches on great issues" in Cooper and Fenton's *American Politics*, book iii.

[2] Cf. G. W. Greene in *Historical View of the Amer. Revolution*, p. 387, and in *No. Amer. Rev.*, vol. xcii. The sermons of the time often displayed an historical spirit, as in David Avery's at Greenwich, Conn., Dec. 18, 1777, reviewing the war; and the more extended surveys in Benjamin Trumbull's at Northampton, and President Willard of Harvard College at Boston, both Dec. 11, 1783, on the Thanksgiving for the peace.

[3] Cf. also Perry's *Amer. Episcopal Church*, vol. i.; and

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The relations of the Catholics to the Revolution are traced in J. L. Spalding's "Catholic Church in the United States, 1776–1876," in his *Essays and Reviews;* and by J. G. McGee in the *Catholic World* (vol. xxiii. p. 488).

C. A. Briggs, in his *American Presbyterianism* (New York, 1885, p. 344, etc.), treats of the position of that sect as respects the war.

The Baptists and their relations are explained in Rev. Wm. Cathcart's *Baptists and the American Revolution;* in *Chaplain Smith and the Baptists;* and in *The Baptists and the National Centenary, 1776–1876, edited by Lemuel Moss* (Philad., 1876), being articles by various writers.[1]

Mr. H. B. Dawson, in the *Historical Mag.* (vols. x. 361; xi. 291, 338; xii. 147), took issues with most of the Methodist historians in claiming that the early Methodists were disaffected towards the Revolution. Cf. Stevens' *Hist. of Methodism*, ii. 129, etc.; and the references in the lives of Wesley in the present *History*, Vol. V. p. 403.

Proud, in his *History of Pennsylvania*, does not touch the Revolutionary epoch; but some references to it near the close of his work, which was not published till 1797, show, as Grahame (III. 262) points out, that "the principles of the Quaker prevailed over the sentiments of the patriot." The Quakers of Philadelphia announced their position in various broadsides; such as, among others, *Apology for People called Quakers*, published June 29, 1757, and republished April 27, 1776; *Testimony of People called Quakers given forth at a Meeting of the Representatives of said People in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, at Philadelphia*, January 21, 1775; *To our Friends and Brethren in Religious Profession*, Dec. 20, 1776; and *The Ancient Testimony and Principles of the People called Quakers, renewed with respect to the King and Government, and touching the commotions now Prevailing in these and other Parts of America*, dated *Philadelphia, the 20th day of the First Month, 1776*.

In 1777, when Howe was approaching the city, the trying time came, and Sullivan had captured papers which implicated some of the leading members of that sect. A considerable number of such persons were arrested and put in confinement, whence they issued *An address to the inhabitants of Pennsylvania by those Freemen of the City of Philadelphia, who are now confined in the Masons' Lodge by virtue of a general warrant, signed in Council by the Vice-President of the Council of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1777).[2] The temper of the ardent patriots is shown in the way that John Adams wrote to his wife. "We have been obliged," he writes, "to attempt to humble the pride of some Jesuits, who call themselves Quakers, but who love money and land better than liberty and religion. The hypocrites are endeavoring to raise the cry of persecution, but they can't succeed."[3]

The result was that some representative Quakers were sent to Virginia under surveillance, the experience of whom is commemorated in Thomas Gilpin's *Exiles in Virginia: with observations on the conduct of the Society of Friends during the revolutionary war, comprising the official papers of the government relating to that period. 1777–1778.* (Philadelphia, 1848.)[4]

Regarding the period subsequent to the war, it seems evident that the repeated subdivision of the Protestant body has been a safeguard in the progress of America, as preventing what might have become the headlong antagonism of two great religious counter-movements which could hardly have failed to assume contrary political affiliations. The relations of the church to the state are considered by Dr. J. P. Thompson in *Church and State in the United States* (1873), and by Dr. Philip Schaff in two papers in the *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, Oct. and Nov., 1887. The progress of the Protestant bodies during our entire history is more compactly presented, side by side, and at the same time with considerable fullness, in Dr. Wm. B. Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit* (N. Y., 1857–1869, in nine vols.).[5]

The principal works on the progress of the Roman Catholic Church are Dr. John G. Shea's *History of the Catholic Church in the United States* (N. Y., 1887, vol. i., but the succeeding volumes, ii.–v., are not yet published); Henri de Courcy de Laroche-Héron's *Catholic Church in the United States*, translated and enlarged by John Gilmany Shea (N. Y., 1856; and 2d ed., revised), and John O'Kane Murray's *Popular Hist. of the Catholic Church in the U. S.* (3d ed. revised, N. Y., 1876).[6]

for the Church in South Carolina, *Ibid.*, ch. xxi. on Commissary Garden; and Hawks and Perry's *Hist. of the Church,— documents relating to the Church in South Carolina.*

[1] Cf. Armitage's *Hist. of the Baptists* for a chapter on the war.

[2] Stevens, *Nuggets*, no. 3117.

[3] *Familiar Letters*, p. 306; cf. also *John Adams' Works*, ix. 459.

[4] Compare further on this matter Wallace's *Col. Wm. Bradford*, 139; *Hist. Mag.*, ix. 277; *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, vi. 364.

[5] There are less extensive records, like I. D. Rupp's *History of the Religious Denominations in the U. S.* (Philad., 1844); R. Baird's *Progress and Prospects of Christianity in the U. S.* (Lond., 1851); Joseph Belcher's *Religious Denominations in the U. S.* (Philad., 1861); and the cursory sketch by John F. Hurst in *The First Century of the Republic*. The two later historians, Schouler and McMaster, have included surveys, more or less extensive, of the religious movements during the earlier part of that same period. There is a *Concise History of the Introduction of Protestantism into Mississippi and the South-west*, by John C. Jones (St. Louis, 1866).

[6] For special or local treatment there are J. G. Shea's *Hist. of Catholic Missions among the Indian tribes, 1592–1854;* Fitton's *Sketch of the Establishment of the Church in New England;* sections in the histories of large cities, like the *Mem. Hist. Boston* (iii. 515); various historical papers in the *Amer. Catholic Quarterly Review* (like that on the Catholics in Kentucky by B. J. Webb, v. 653); O. A. Brownson's *Writings;* and the papers in the *Amer Catholic Historical Researches* (Pittsburg, Philadelphia, 1884, etc.).

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The most comprehensive history of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States is that edited by W. S. Perry, Bishop of Iowa, *The History of the Amer. Episcopal Church*, 1587–1883, in two volumes, the second of which is given to the period since 1783. It has appended monographs by various writers. Dr. F. L. Hawks published in 1836–1839 two volumes of *Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of the U. S.* The English bishop Samuel Wilberforce has written a *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America*. This was the only general work before Bishop Perry's *History*.[1]

The beginnings of Methodism as an organized episcopal body date from the consecration of Francis Asbury as first bishop in 1784, and the literature pertaining to his career traces the development of his power. Cf. W. C. Larrabee's *Asbury and his Coadjutors*, and the references under "Asbury" and "Methodist Episcopal" in McClintock and Strong's *Cyclop. of Bibl., Theol., and Eccles. Literature*. The references under subjects of biography and denominational names in this work will be found of use in pursuing the study of all religious movements in the United States. The earliest *History of Methodism in America* was the small volume published by Jesse Lee at Baltimore (1807–1810). Lee was the chief mover in the introduction of Methodism in New England, the part of the country latest invaded by the new spirit.[2] Stevens's *Hist. of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (1864–1867) is the principal single work on the subject (cf. Allibone, p. 2246), and Bishop Matthew Simpson's *Cyclopædia of Methodism* (Philad., 1878) is useful for reference.[3]

The standard work as respects the Baptists is D. Benedict's *Hist. of the Baptist Denomination in America* (Boston, 1813, in 2 vols.), and largely rewritten in 1848 (N. Y.). It may be supplemented by T. F. Curtis's *Progress of Baptist Principles in the last hundred years* (Boston, 1857). For further references, see McClintock and Strong, i. 655; and especially Crowell's "Literature of the Amer. Baptists during the last fifty years," in the *Missionary Jubilee* (N. Y., 1865).[4]

For the Presbyterian Church, see references in the present *History*, V. p. 132; and those in McClintock and Strong, and *Poole's Index*.

In the "Collections towards a bibliography of Congregationalism" which forms the Appendix of Henry M. Dexter's *Congregationalism as seen in its literature* (N. Y., 1880), there are found in the widest sense (see his p. xiv) the references for the relations and history of American Congregationalism, which may be supplemented by the references in *Poole's Index* for periodical literature.[5]

The beginnings of organized Unitarianism lie in the determination of the episcopal King's Chapel in Boston, in 1785, to sustain their minister, James Freeman, in his views.[6] McMaster (ii. 239) gives the beginning in New York in 1794. Cf. Geo. E. Ellis's *Half-Century of the Unitarian Controversy* (Boston, 1857); E. H. Gillett, "History and Literature of the Unitarian Controversy," in the *Hist. Mag.*, April, 1871, and references in *Poole's Index*, and the lives of preachers like W. E. Channing, J. S. Buckminster, Orville Dewey, Ezra S. Gannett, and others.

Richard Eddy's *Universalism in America* (Boston, 1886) has a bibliography.[7]

The movement which acquired the name, chiefly in New England, of Transcendentalism is followed in O. B. Frothingham's *Transcendentalism in New England*. This chief work on the subject may be supplemented by C. A. Bartol's *Radical Problems;* a paper by Geo. Ripley and George P. Bradford in the *Mem. Hist. Boston* (iv. 295–330); the articles referred to in *Poole's Index*, and the lives of R. W. Emerson, Margaret Fuller, Geo. Ripley, Theodore Parker, and others.[8]

[1] Of the earliest American bishop there is the *Life and Correspondence of Samuel Seabury, first bishop of Connecticut*, by E. E. Beardsley (Boston, 1881 — reviewed by W. I. Seabury in *Amer. Church Review*, April, 1881, p. 161). There is a paper on the Seabury Centenary in the *Church Quarterly* (xix. 426). Bishop Perry privately printed in 1862 a paper on *Bishop Seabury and Bishop Provoost:* and delivered a *Discourse* (Davenport, Iowa, 1884) on the Centenary, and also printed an historical review of *The Election of the first bishop of Connecticut at Woodbury, 1783* (Davenport, 1884). We have from Bishop Perry also *The Men and Measures of the Massachusetts Conventions of 1784–85* (Boston, 1785). Beardsley gives us the *History of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut*, in two vols., and there are many other local records; and historical papers can be found in the church periodicals (see *Poole's Index*, p. 421).

[2] Cf. *Life and Times of Rev. Jesse Lee*, by Reroy M. Lee (Richmond, Va., and Louisville, Ky., 1848); a chapter in the *Mem. Hist. of Boston*, vol. iii. 433; and Abel Stevens's *Memorial of the introduction of Methodism into the Eastern States* (Boston, 1848; 2d series, 1862).

[3] There are published Minutes of the Conferences of the Church from 1773 down, and numerous references in *Poole's Index*, under "Methodism," and the names of leading preachers.

[4] There are numerous works on divisionary subjects, like Stewart's *Hist. of the Freewill Baptists* (Dover, N. H., 1862); Robert B. Semple's *Baptists in Virginia* (Richmond, 1810); J. Millet's *Baptists in Maine* (Portland, 1845); the histories of the principal cities, and the lives of leading preachers, like Dr. Wayland. There are many references in *Poole's Index*. The earliest enumeration of the churches of the denomination in America is in John Asplund's *Annual Register of the Baptist Denomination in America* (dated in Va., July 14, 1791). The author, a Swede, is said to have travelled 7,000 miles to collect his data. The relations of Isaac Backus to the denomination in New England are noted in the present *History*, Vol. V. p. 159.

[5] The *Congregational Quarterly* and the *New Englander* are rich in historical papers.

[6] Cf. H. W. Foote's *Hist. of King's Chapel* (when complete); Dr. A. P. Peabody in the *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 467.

[7] It may be only necessary to make special mention of Abel C. Thomas's *Century of Universalism;* J. G. Adams's *Fifty Notable Years* (Boston, 1882); a paper in the *Memorial Hist. of Boston* (iii. 483), by A. A. Miner; and such personal records as the lives of John Murray and Hosea Ballou, and periodical contributions noted in *Poole's Index*.

[8] The Fourier experiment at Brook Farm, near Boston, made a temporary impression upon thought and literature

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Noyes, with some aid from Dixon and Greeley, may be taken as the sources for the study of those forms of American life which result in Communities; and other help will be got from Nordhoff's *Communistic Societies of the U. S.* (1874), with a bibliography.[1]

The most conspicuous work from a surgeon of the Revolution is Dr. James Thacher's *Military Journal during the American Revolutionary War, 1775–1783, with an appendix containing biographical sketches of general officers* (Boston, 1823; a revised second edition, 1827).[2]

An account of Benjamin Church, the first director-general of the hospitals, is given in Loring's *Hundred Boston Orators*, p. 37.

A portrait and memoir of Dr. John Morgan, the medical director of the Revolutionary army, who succeeded Dr. Church at Cambridge in 1775, is given in Geo. W. Norris's *Early Hist. of Medicine in Philadelphia* (Philad., 1886), ed. by W. F. Norris. An anonymous picture of Dr. John Morgan, belonging to Mrs. Wm. Biddle, was exhibited in the Philad. Loan Exhib. in 1888. Morgan issued at Boston in 1777 *A vindication of his public character in the station of Director-General of the Military Hospitals and Physician-in-chief to the American Army, anno 1776.*

An account of Dr. John Cochran, director-general of the hospitals of the United States in 1781, is given by W. L. C. Biddle in the *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, iii. (1879), p. 241, and in a paper on the Medical Department of the Revolutionary army by John Cochrane, with a portrait of the director-general John Cochran, in the *Mag. of American Hist.*, Aug., 1884.

Dr. Joseph M. Toner published his *Medical Men of the Revolution* in 1876, giving the names of nearly 1,200 physicians who served in the army. Edw. D. Neill furnished a sketch of Dr. Jonathan Potts, the director-general of the hospitals of the Northern department, to the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1864, p. 21.

Dr. Geo. B. Loring has a paper on the medical profession in Massachusetts during the war in the *Medical and Surgical Journal*, June 17, 1875; and Edward H. Clark and others traced the development of medical science during and since the Revolution in *A Century of American Medicine*, 1776–1876 (Philad., 1876), — papers which had first appeared in the *Amer. Journal of Medical Sciences.*

A paper by Austin Flint on medical and sanitary progress is contained in *Our First Hundred Years* (also *Harper's Mag.*, June, 1876).

Cf. *The Medical Department of the United States Army from 1775 to 1873*, by Harvey E. Brown (Washington, D. C., 1873), and a chronological history of the early years of the medical department of the Revolutionary army in Geo. W. Norris's *Early Hist. of Medicine in Philadelphia* (Philad., privately printed, 1886).

The most considerable treatment of the relations of the women to the times is in Mrs. E. F. Ellet's *Women of the Revolution*,[3] which first was published serially in *Godey's Magazine* (vols. xxxvi. to xlii.), and then independently in 1848, but a third volume was later added; and in the same author's *Domestic Hist. of the Amer. Revolution* (New York, 1850). Mrs. Ellet gathered the material for this work while she was engaged upon her *Women*, and says her purpose was to give "a short and comprehensive narrative of the successive events of the war, interspersed with domestic details and anecdotes." She enters more especially into events in the upper districts of South Carolina, "because no history has done justice to that section of the country," and for this purpose she uses manuscripts furnished by Mr. Daniel G. Stinson, of Chester District, S. C. This tendency to enlarge upon the Revolutionary history of the South, which appears in both her books, she says was instigated mainly by the greater abundance of material furnished to her from that quarter. See other treatment in *Hist. Mag.*, xv. 105; *Southern Review*, new series, xxi. 31; Bishop's *Amer. Manufactures*, i. 394.

There are various books that express individual experiences, a few of which may be mentioned as typical. The *Familiar Letters of John Adams and his Wife* exemplify a patriot's helpmeet, and they were for a long time the only, and perhaps still are the best, exponent which we have of the womanly side of the patriotic fervor of the time. The rugged career of Deborah Sampson is told in *The Female Review, or memoirs of an American young lady, whose life and character are peculiarly distinguished, being a Continental soldier for nearly three years in the late American War* [by Herman Mann] (Dedham, 1797). The book has been edited and annotated of late years (Boston, 1866) by John A. Vinton, who discusses the questions of its authorship and credibility. Mrs. Ellet characterizes it as "half tale, half biography."

in some circles, and beside the work of O. B. Frothingham, it may be studied with more or less sympathy in papers referred to by Poole under "Brook Farm Community," and particularly by a paper by Miss Amelia Russell in the *Atlantic Monthly*; and in another by R. W. Emerson in the number for Oct., 1883 (p. 570). Hawthorne's *Blithedale Romance* was doubtless suggested by his connection with the company at the farm. Cf. M. D. Conway's introduction to the English edition of Hawthorne's *Note Books*; Greeley's *Recoll. of a busy Life*; Dixon's *New America*; and Noyes' *American Socialisms.*

[1] Cf. Dixon's *Spiritual Wives*, and R. D. Owen's *Threading my Way.* Cf. *Westminster Review*, April, 1870, and references in Poole under "Socialism," etc.

[2] Cf. his *American medical biography; or memoirs of eminent physicians who have flourished in America. Prefixed a succinct history of medical science in the United States, from the first settlement of the country* (Boston, 1828).

[3] Reviewed by Mrs. C. M. Kirkland in *N. Amer. Rev.*, vol. lxviii.

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Womanly experiences, North and South, amid the turmoils of the war are shown in the *Personal Recollections of the American Revolution, a private journal, prepared from authentic domestic records, with reminiscences of Washington and Lafayette, edited by Sidney Barclay* [Lydia Minturn Post] (New York, 1859). The preface says that the diary and letters were written by the wife of an officer and the daughter of a clergyman of the Church of England, and they pertain to the war as experienced and observed in Long Island from Sept., 1776, to 1783.

The *Letters of Eliza Wilkinson*, arranged by Mrs. Gilman, were published in New York in 1839, and gave the experiences of the siege of Charleston, S. C., when that city was unsuccessfully defended by Lincoln.

Benson J. Lossing has recently prepared the best account which we have of the lives of *Mary and Martha, the mother and wife of Washington* (New York, 1886).

The Catal. of the Egerton MSS. (no. 2423) in the British Museum discloses a paper called "The Experiences of a lady during the war," and the *Second Report of the Hist. MSS. Commission* describes as at Patshull, Staffordshire (Earl of Dartmouth's), various letters written by Judith Reed from Philadelphia in 1773–75.

Some of the graphic aspects are noted in John T. Smith and John F. Watson's *American Historical and Literary Curiosities*, two series, enlarged in successive editions, and in James Parton's paper on the Caricatures of the Revolution in *Harper's Monthly*, July, 1775, — later included in his *Caricature and other comic art* (N. Y., 1877).

For the medals of the history of the United States, see J. F. Loubat's *Medallic History of the United States, 1776–1876* (N. Y., 1878); Charles Henry Hart's *A historical sketch of the national medals issued pursuant to resolution of Congress, 1776–1815* (Philad., 1867), also in the *Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia: Proceedings* (Philad., 1867); H. W. Harrison's *Battlefields of the Republic* (Philad., 1857); and Thomas Wyatt's *Memoirs of the generals, commodores, and other commanders, who distinguished themselves in the American army and navy during the wars of the Revolution and 1812, and who were presented with medals by Congress for their gallant services. Illus. by 82 engravings on steel from the original medals* (Philad., 1848).

The best sources for the study of manners are the lives of public characters, particularly familiar letters and personal diaries.[1] Use of such material is made in Horace E. Scudder's *Men and Manners*. There are no good comprehensive accounts of the development of social manners in the United States, and one is disappointed at the lack of a predominating interest in this way in such books of confined range as Rufus Wilmot Griswold's *Republican Court, or American Society in the days of Washington, with 21 portraits of distinguished women* (new revised ed., N. Y., 1856). Cf. Mrs. Ellet's *Queens of American Society*.

To enumerate the principal of such personal records would require too much space, but a few more particularly of a social character may be mentioned: Richard Rush's *Washington in Domestic Life* (Philad., 1857); Mrs. Randolph's *Domestic Life of Jefferson;* H. W. Pierson's *Jefferson at Monticello;* John Randolph's *Letters to a Young Relative, 1806–1822* (Philad., 1834); Sargent's *Public Men and Events, 1817–1853;* Josiah Quincy's *Figures of the Past;* Harriet Martineau's *Society in America*.

The two most prominent of the later general historians have drawn pictures of the condition of society at the opening of this century. (Schouler, ii. 269; McMaster, ii. ch. 12.) Local histories specialize the field (Barry's *Massachusetts*, iii. ch. 5; *Mem. Hist. Boston*, vol. iv.; Henry Baldwin in *Mem Hist. Hartford Co. Com.*, i. 574; Cable's *Creole Days;* P. F. de Gournay on Creole peculiarities in *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, Dec., 1886, p. 549). We get the architectural externals as well as the internal life in Mrs. M. J. Lamb's *Homes of America;* and the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.* had given various pictures of the mansions with occasional descriptions of the life within them, — as for instance of the Wadsworth estate at Geneseo (Nov., 1885); that of Col. John Eager in Baltimore (April, 1879); the Verplanck House (Sept., 1883); Gardiner Manor House (Jan., 1885) — not to name others. There are some such cuts in *Appleton's Journal*, as the Hampton House, Maryland (xiii. 577), and the Morris House (viii. 169). A series of old Virginian mansions is described by Marion Harland in *The Home-maker*, vol. i.

The accounts of sundry travellers add to this material. It seems better to include here those of European origin, to complete the conspectus, rather than to put them under the later heads of this paper.

The *Travels* of the Rev. Andrew Burnaby have elsewhere been referred to,[2] as covering a period a little earlier than the period we are now considering. Hazard says of the book to Belknap[3] that it gives much the best account of both persons and things of any English author, "and upon the whole a very just one."[4]

The work of J. Hector St. John Crèvecœur, purporting to describe the condition of the country during the period 1770–1781, proved, just after the close of the war, to be popular in Europe and to induce immigration. The author was a Frenchman who had lived on a farm not far from New York since 1754, but finding his land to be within the range of the British foragers, he left his estate in 1780 and returned to France; but came back

[1] One of the most curiously minute and laboriously dull of such records of a New England life is the *Diary of Thomas Robbins, 1796–1854, Ed. by I. N. Tarbox* (Boston, 1886), in two volumes.

[2] Vol. V. p. 284.

[3] *Belknap Papers*, i. 22.

[4] It is characterized in H. T. Tuckerman's *America and her Commentators*, 173.

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in 1783 and remained till 1793. His book was called *Letters from an American farmer, describing certain provincial situations, manners, and customs . . . written for the information of a friend in England* (London, 1782; reprinted with little change, Philadelphia, 1793). A French version, by himself, a good deal enlarged and revised, — a copy with his corrections is in Harvard College Library, — was published in Paris in 1784. A new French edition in three volumes, the first two somewhat extended over the edition of 1784, and the third entirely additional, appeared in Paris in 1787. There was a German translation issued at Leipzig in 1788–89.[1]

John F. D. Smyth was a captain of the Queen's Rangers in the British service, and experienced the severities which his neighbor patriots in Maryland visited upon him as a Tory. In the latter part of his *Tour in the United States, containing an account of the present situation of that country, anecdotes of several members of the Congress, and general officers in the American Army, and many other very singular and interesting occurrences, with a description of the Indian Nations, the general face of the country, mountains, forests, and the most beautiful, grand, and picturesque views throughout that vast continent* (London and Dublin, 1784) he tells the story of his personal experiences at the outbreak of the war and during its progress; and in the earlier parts of his narrative he intersperses various recitals of events of the war, tinged generally with his Tory views. In his preface he makes many professions of fairness, and announces his purpose to be more curious in the details of the life of the people than any preceding writer had been; but the book hardly confirms the promise. A French version made by L. de Barenton-Montchal was published in Paris in 1791.[2]

The *Travels in the Interior of America* (London, 1789, in two vols.) of Thomas Anburey,[3] 1776–1781, who was an officer of Burgoyne's army, and shared the detention of the Convention troops, was published in London in 1789; and was annotated by M. Noël, in the French translation published in Paris in 1793, as *Journal d'un voyage fait dans l'intérieur de l'Amérique septentrionale. Ouvrage dans lequel on donne des détails précieux sur l'insurrection des Anglo Américains, et sur la chute de leur papier-monnoie.*[4] Anburey as an observer was too candid to allow his privations as a prisoner-of-war invariably to color his narrative, and in much of what he says the record is temperate and discriminating.[5]

The *Letters from America, historical and descriptive, comprising occurrences from 1769 to 1777, inclusive,*[6] written by William Eddis, were published in London in 1792. The author was surveyor of customs at Annapolis, and makes an intelligent record of the rise of the patriot party in that colony.

The Abbé C. C. Robin, one of Rochambeau's chaplains, published in Philadelphia and Paris, in 1782, his *Nouveau Voyage dans l'Amérique Septentrionale, en l'Année 1781; et Campagne de l'armée de M. le Comte de Rochambeau.* The book was printed in Paris. An English translation was printed at Boston in 1784.[7]

A book by Jean Francois, Marquis de Chastellux, which has since become famous, was written by one of Rochambeau's officers during his sojourn here.[8] He said of his production, in writing to Franklin in 1786, "I could not see your country in any but a favorable light, and if my love of truth occasionally called forth a gentle censure, my best wishes always took the place of my admiration, when the latter was compelled to be silent." The little work called *Voyage de Newport à Philade[l]phie, Albany, etc.*, was printed at Newport "de l'imprimerie royale de l'escadre." In this form it is very rare, as only 24 copies are said to have been struck off on the fleet-press,[9] one of which, given by Ed. Laboulaye to Charles Sumner, is now in Harvard College Library.[10] It was surreptitiously reprinted in 1785 at Cassel as *Voyage de M. le chevalier de Chastellux en Amérique.*[11] The first authorized reprint was made in Paris in 1786, as *Voyage de M. le Marquis de Chastellux dans l'Amérique septentrionale dans les années 1780, 1781, et 1782*, in two volumes.

Jean Pierre Brissot de Warville published at London the same year an *Examen critique des Voyages dans de Amérique Septentrionale de M. le marquis de Chatellux; ou lettre à M. le marquis de Chatellux, dans laquelle on réfute principalement ses opinions sur les Quakers, sur les Nègres, sur le peuple & sur l'homme.*

The Chastellux was again reprinted at Paris in 1788 and in 1796. An English translation was published in London, and reprinted in Dublin in 1787, as *Travels in North America in the years 1780–82, translated from the French by an English gentleman, with notes.* This version has been attributed by Watt and others

[1] Sabin, v. p. 77; J. A. Allen's *Bibliog. of Cetacea, etc.*, nos. 372, 382, 402, 431; Tuckerman, *America and her Commentators*, p. 89; Delesdernier's *Fannie St. John;* Duyckinck, *Cycl. Am. Lit.*, i. 173. He also published a *Voyage dans la haute Pensylvanie et dans l'état de New York, par un membre adoptif de la nation Onéida, traduit et publié par l'auteur des Lettres d'un cultivateur Américain* (Paris, 1801, in three volumes) — which was in reality by Crèvecœur himself. (Field, *Indian Bibliog.*, no. 388.) There is an account by Wm. Seton of "St. John de Crèvecœur, the first French consul to New York after the Revolution," in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Sept., 1889.

[2] Cf. Vol. V. p. 284; Tuckerman's *America and her Commentators*, 188.

[3] See Vol. V. p. 284.

[4] Sabin, i. no. 1367. There was another French version (1790).

[5] Tuckerman, *America and her Commentators*, p. 187.

[6] Sabin, vi. no. 21,801.

[7] Sabin, xvii. p. 381.

[8] H. T. Tuckerman, *America and her Commentators* (1864), p. 59. Cf. *Madison's Letters*, iii. 499.

[9] It is said that only 10 of these 24 reached the persons to whom they were addressed in Europe.

[10] *Bibliog. Contributions of Harvard University Library*, no. vi. p. 8; Quérard's *La France litteraire*, ii. 147; Dufossé, *Americana*, 3d series, no. 10.

[11] Now very rare. Dufossé, 1885, no. 14,086, at 20 fr.

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to John Kent; but Ebeling's copy in Harvard College library says it was made by George Greive, and investigations of Dr. J. H. Trumbull seem by circumstantial evidence to confirm that view.[1] It was reprinted in New York in 1828, with "a biographical sketch of the author, letters from Gen. Washington, and notes and corrections by the American editor."[2]

The critic of Chastellux, Brissot de Warville (Ouarville), spent a year in the country a few years after the war closed, when he gathered and has recorded his observations of many of the actors of the war, and of its traditions. Lafayette had introduced him to Washington as a clever writer who was bent on writing a history of America, but his impulse only ended in a book describing his single year's experience, and called *Nouveau Voyage dans les États Unis fait en 1788* (Paris, 1791), in three volumes.[3] An English version appeared in London in 1792 as *New Travels in the United States of America*, and passed to a second edition, with revisions and corrections, in 1794. The first American edition was issued at Boston in 1797, but the printers seem to have been ignorant of the later corrections and followed the first edition. The London edition includes, in its second volume, *The Commerce of America and Europe*, by Brissot and Etienne Clavière, which is represented as "from the last French edition, revised by Brissot, and called the second volume of his View of America." It has a life of Brissot and an appendix by the translator, together with a somewhat striking portrait.[4]

When the Duc de la Rochefoucault-Liancourt journeyed through the country in 1795–97, he also found not a little to record of the eminent men of the Revolution who were still living, — in his *Voyage dans les États Unis d'Amérique* (Paris, — l'an vii, — 8 vols.), of which there is an English translation (London, 1799; 2d ed., 1800). Dwight (*Travels*, iv. 235) points out various errors of Rochefoucault.

The travels after the peace are hardly of the same interest, and it is not necessary to mention all the published accounts of journeys during the first years of the Republic: —

Luigi Castiglioni, *Viaggio negli Stati Uniti dell' America settentrionale, 1785–1787* (Milano, 1790). Cf. Tuckerman's *America and her Commentators* (p. 338), on Italian travellers in America.

André Michaux, *Portions of the journal* [in French] *of André Michaux, botanist, written during his travels in the United States and Canada, 1785 to 1796. With an introduction and explanatory notes by C. S. Sargent* (Philadelphia, 1889). This is taken from the *Proceedings American Philosophical Society*, vol. xxvi. no. 129. "The information which it contains in regard to various plants first detected by Michaux is valuable even now; and his remarks upon the condition of the remote settlements which he visited in the course of his wanderings are interesting and often amusing."

John Penn's journal in Pennsylvania in 1788 is in the *Penna. Mag. Hist.*, iii. 284.

Samuel S. Forman's *Narrative of a journey down the Ohio and Mississippi in 1789–90. With a memoir and illustrative notes by Lyman C. Draper* (Cincinnati, 1888), and various other accounts of travel in the Ohio region at this time, enumerated in *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 536.

The *Voyage en Amérique* of Chateaubriand (1791–92) will be found in his *Œuvres*.

F. M. Bayard's *Voyage dans l'intérieur des États Unis, 1791* (Paris, 1797).

William Bartram, *Travels through North Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, the Cherokee country, the extensive Territories of the Muscogulges or Creek Confederacy, and the country of the Choctaws. Containing an account of the soil and natural productions of those regions* (London, 1792; Dublin, 1793; in French, Paris, 1801).

Col. John Pope, *Tour through the southern and western territories of the United States of North-America; the Spanish dominions on the river Mississippi, and the Floridas; the countries of the Creek nations; and many uninhabited parts* (Richmond, 1792; New York, 1888).

William Priest, a musician of the theatres of Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Boston, *Travels in the United States, 1793–1797* (London, 1802).

C. W. Jansen, *Stranger in America, 1793–1805* (London, 1807).

T. Cooper, *Some information respecting America, 1793–1794* (London, 2d ed., 1795). There is a French translation, Paris, 1795.

John Drayton's *Letters during a tour through the Northern and Eastern States* (Charleston, S. C., 1794).

H. Wansey, *Journal of an excursion to the U. S., 1794* (Salisbury, Eng., 1796, 1798).

W. Gould, journal of a tour into Penna., 1794, in *N. Jersey Hist. Soc. Proc.*, iii.

Pictet de Rochemont, *Tableau de la situation actuelle des États Unis* (Paris, 1795, in two vols.).

W. Winterbotham, *Historical, Geographical, etc., view of the U. S., 1795* (N. Y., reprinted 1796).

Isaac Weld, *Travels through the States of N. America, etc., 1795–1797* (London, 1799, 1807). There are German (Berlin, 1800) and Dutch (s'Haage, 1801) translations. Cf. Dwight's *Travels*, iv. 226.

[1] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, vi. 251; xi. 5; *Hist. Mag.*, i. 90.

[2] Sabin, iii. 534.

[3] The third volume is *De la France et des États-Unis, ou de l'importance de la Revolution de l'Amérique pour le bonheur de la France, par Etienne Clavière et J. P. Brissot de Warville* (London, 1787).

[4] See also account and portrait in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.* (March, 1884), xi. 244; Tuckerman's *America and her Commentators*, 82; Sabin's *Dictionary*, vol. ii. p. 495; *Belknap Papers*, ii. 282–3, 288. There is a German version in J. R. Forster's *Magazin von merkwürdigen neuen Reisebeschreibungen, übersetzt und mit erläuternden Anmerkungen begleitet* (Berlin, 1790–1800, in 20 vols.).

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Reponse aux principales questions qui peuvent être faites, sur les États-Unis de l'Amérique, par un citoyen adoptif de la Pensylvanie (Abbé J. E. Bonnet) (Lausanne, 1795, — in two vols.).

Francis Baily, *Journal of a tour in the unsettled parts of No. America, 1796–1797* (London, 1856). Thomson, *Bibliog. of Ohio*, no. 55, calls the book "intelligent and truthful."

Gilbert Imlay, *Topographical Description of the Western Territory of America* (London, 1792, 1797; New York, 1793).

Timothy Dwight, *Travels in New England and New York* (New Haven, 1821, — in four vols.). Dr. Dwight began his travels in 1796, using his successive vacations while president of Yale College.

John Bernard (a player), *Retrospections of America, 1797–1811* (N. Y., 1887).

Travels of Heckewelder and others in *Penna. Mag. Hist.*, July, 1886.

R. Parkinson, *Tour in America, 1798–1800* (London, 1805), — particularly illustrative of agricultural matters. Cf. Sparks's *Washington*, xi. 340.

John Davis, *Travels of five years and a half in the U. S., 1798–1800, 1802* (London, 1803). He met Jefferson and Burr, and dedicates his book to the former.

A *Poetical picture of America, being observations made during a residence of several years at Alexandria and Norfolk in Virginia, illustrative of the manners and customs of the inhabitants; with anecdotes, from 1799 to 1807. By a lady* (London, 1809).

For the early years of the present century: —

L. P. F. De Beaujour, *Aperçu des États-Unis, 1800–1810* (Paris, 1814; and in English, London, 1814).

F. A. Michaux, *Voyage à l'ouest des monts Alléghanys, 1801–1803* (Paris, 1804, 1808; in English, London, 1805, two editions, translated by B. Lambert, and another English translation the same year). His route was in Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee (Thomson's *Bibliog. of Ohio*, nos. 822–824; Sabin, xii. p. 139).

Historical review and directory of North America. With tables. In 2 v. By a gentleman immediately returned from a tour of that continent (Cork, 1801).

C. S. Rafinesque, *A life of travels and researches in No. America, 1802–1835* (Philad., 1836).

C. F. Volney, *Tableau du climat et du sol des États-Unis* (Paris, 1803; in English, London, 1804; Philad., 1804, transl. by C. B. Brown). Cf. Thomson's *Bibliog. of Ohio*, no. 1170; Dwight's *Travels*, iv. 216.

The letters of a British Spy, by William Wirt, were originally published in the *Virginia Argus* in August and Sept., 1803, and were soon collected in a volume (Richmond, 1803, in two editions of this date), and subsequently appeared in various editions, the last as late as 1848 (Allibone's *Dictionary*, iii. 2799; Kennedy's *Wirt*, i. ch. 9). The letters purport to be written to a member of the British Parliament by an English traveller, and depict the persons and spirit of the time in Virginia. It was the most successful literary venture of its day in America. At a later day, Wirt, with the aid of some friendly hands, printed in the same local newspapers a series of papers, which were collected in 1812, with later editions, under the title of *The old bachelor*, in which, with other purposes, he portrayed the manners and current views of Virginians, and took occasion to review with some sharpness the criticisms on his countrymen which had been printed in English books and periodicals.

Robert Sutcliff, *Travels in some parts of No. America, 1804–1806* (York, Eng., 2d ed., 1815). Experiences among the Quakers.

John Lambert, *Travels through Canada and the United States of North America, 1806–1808.* (Second edition, corrected and improved. 2 vols. London, 1814.) Cf. Dwight's *Travels*, iv. 257.

John Melish, *Travels in the U. S., 1806–1807, 1809–1811* (Philad., 1812, in two vols.; in German, transl. by J. E. L. Brauns, Weimar, 1819).

Thomas Ashe, *Travels in America, 1806* (London, 1808). Exploration of sources of the Ohio and Mississippi. Cf. *Mag. Western Hist.*, Aug., 1887, p. 407. It is considered in large part an imposition (Thomson's *Bibliog. of Ohio*, no. 45).

F. Cuming, *Sketches of Tour to Western Country, through Ohio and Kentucky, a Voyage down Ohio and Miss. rivers, and Trip through Miss. Territory and part of West Florida, 1807–1809.* With Notes and Appendix, containing some interesting facts, with notice of an expedition through Louisiana (Pittsburg, 1810), — an interesting book, said to have been edited by Zadok Cramer. Cf. Thomson's *Bibliog. of Ohio*, no. 286.

E. A. Kendall, *Travels through the northern parts of the U. S., 1807–1808* (N. Y., 1809).

Christian Schultz, Jr., *Travels, or an inland voyage, 1807–1808* (N. Y., 1810).

H. Kerr, *Travels through the Western interior of the U. S., 1808–1816* (Elizabethtown, N. J., 1816).

Thaddeus Mason Harris, *Journal of a Tour into the Territory northwest of the Alleghany Mountains in 1803; with a Geographical and Historical Account of the State of Ohio* (Boston, 1805).

J. Bradbury, *Travels in the interior of America, 1809–1811* (Liverpool, 1817; London, 1819). His tour was in Upper Louisiana, Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Tennessee, Illinois, etc. It is a truthful description, and was intended for emigrants. Cf. Thomson's *Bibliog. of Ohio*, no. 111.

Charles J. Ingersoll's anonymous *Inchiquin, the Jesuit's letters, during a late residence in the U. S. of America, accidentally discovered in Europe, containing a favorable view of the manners, literature, and state of society in the U. S., and a refutation of many of the aspersions cast upon this country by former residents and tourists, by some unknown foreigner* (N. Y., 1810).

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A review of the Inchiquin letters in the *Quarterly Rev.* brought out *Remarks* by Timothy Dwight (Boston, 1815) and a *Reply* by J. K. Paulding (N. Y., 1815).

H. C. Knight, *Letters from the South and West, 1814–1819* (Boston, 1824). It purports to be by A. Singleton.

Timothy Flint, *Recollections of the last ten years in the valley of the Mississippi* (Boston, 1826). Cf. Thomson's *Bibliog. of Ohio*, no. 421, etc., for this and other books by Flint on the West.

F. Hall, *Travels in Canada and the U. S., 1816–1817* (Boston, 1818).

Le Baron de Montlezun, *Voyage, 1816–1817, de New Yorck à la N. Orleans* (Paris, 1818).

David Thomas, *Travels through the Western Country, 1816* (Auburn, 1819).

Samuel R. Brown, *Western Gazetteer or Emigrants' Directory* (Auburn, N. Y., 1817). Cf. Thomson's *Bibliog. of Ohio*, no. 124.

W. T. Harris, *Remarks on a tour through the U. S., 1817–1819* (Liverpool, 1819; London, 1821). Cf. Thomson's *Bibliog. of Ohio*, no. 511.

Morris Birkbeck, *Notes on a Journey in America, from the coast of Virginia to the territory of Illinois, 1817* (Philad., 1817, 1819; London, 2d ed., 1818; 5th ed., 1819; Dublin, 1818; Cork, 1818.) Cf. Thomson's *Bibliog. of Ohio*, no. 96. Birkbeck also printed *Letters from Illinois* (2d ed., London, 1818), and *Extracts from a supplementary letter* (London, 1819). Richard Flower, *Letters from Lexington and the Illinois, containing a brief account of the English settlement in the latter territory, and a refutation of the misrepresentations of Mr. Cobbett* (Lond., 1819). This settlement is commemorated in George Flower's *Hist. of the English settlement in Edwards County, Illinois, founded in 1817 and 1818 by Morris Birkbeck and George Flower, with preface by E. B. Washburne* (Chicago, 1882, — being vol. i. of the *Chicago Hist. Soc. Coll.*).

Henry Bradshaw Fearon, *Narrative of a Journey through the Eastern and Western States of America, 1817* (London, 1818; 2d ed., see *Brinley Catal.*, iii., no. 4478). Written for emigrants, and taking an unfavorable view. Cf. Thomson's *Bibliog. of Ohio*, no. 406.

John Palmer, *Journal of travels in the United States of America, and in Lower Canada, 1817;* particulars relating to the prices of land and provisions, remarks on the country and peoples, etc., and an account of the commerce, trade, and present state; to which are added a description of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri, and a variety of other useful information (London, 1818). Largely borrowed from other books. Thomson's *Bibliog. of Ohio*, no. 902.

J. Flint, *Letters from America, 1818–1820* (Edinburgh, 1822). Describes the Ohio region for the benefit of emigrants. Thomson's *Bibliog. of Ohio*, no. 420.

John Monson Duncan, *Travels through the U. S. and Canada, 1818–1819* (Glasgow, 1823; N. Y., 1823).

J. Bristed's *Resources of the U. S.* (N. Y., 1818).

W. Darby, *Tour from N. Y. to Detroit, 1818* (N. Y., 1819). Cf. Thomson's *Bibliog. of Ohio*, no. 308, for *Emigrant's Guide* (N. Y., 1818).

Benjamin Harding, *A Tour through the Western Country, 1818–1819* (New London, 1819). For the use of emigrants.

Frances Wright, *Views of society and manners in America; in a series of Letters from that country to a friend in England, during the years 1818, 19, and 20* (N. Y., 1821).

F. Darusmont, *Society and Manners in America, 1818–1820.*

Adam Hodgson, *Remarks during a Journey through No. America, 1819–21* (N. Y., 1823). *Letters from N. America* (London, 1824).

W. Faux, *Memorable days in America, 1819–1820* (London, 1823). Faux was an English farmer, examining the country for emigrants.

L. Gall, *Meine Auswanderung nach den Vereinigten Staaten in Nord Amerika, 1819–1820* (Trier, 1822). Advises against emigration. Cf. Thomson's *Bibliog. of Ohio*, no. 434.

E. Mackenzie, *Hist., Topog., and Descriptive View of the U. S.* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1819).

B. Silliman, *Remarks made on a tour between Hartford and Quebec, 1819* (New Haven, 2d ed., 1824).

D. B. Warden, *Statistical, political, and historical account of the U. S.* (Edinburgh, 1819).

William Dalton, *Travels in the U. S. and part of Upper Canada, 1819, etc.* (Appleby, 1821).

William Cobbett's *Year's Residence in the United States of America, treating of the country, the land, labor, people, and their institutions* (London, 1819).

William Tudor, *Letters on the Eastern States* (N. Y., 1820; Boston, 1821). Cf. Allibone's *Dictionary.*

Emanuel Howett, *Selection from letters written during a tour through the U. S., 1819* (Nottingham, 1820).

William Lindsay, *View of America: comprehending a general description of the extent, limits, situation, climate* [*etc.*]. *Prefixed a narrative of a voyage from Dumfries to Saint John, in New Brunswick, in 1819* (Hawick, 1824).

Robert Walsh, *An appeal from the judgment of Great Britain respecting the United States* (Philad. 1819, and later eds.). This was the earliest considerable remonstrance against the derogatory estimates of America, then the fashion with English travellers. Irving, in his *Sketch Book*, shortly afterwards administered a gentle reproof. Cf. Madison's *Letters*, iii. 148; Allibone on Walsh; and the chapter on the abuse by the English travellers in Tuckerman's *America and her Commentators.*

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Isaac Holmes, *Account of the U. S., derived during a residence of four years* (London, 1823).

William Amphlett, *The Emigrant's Directory of the Western States* (London, 1819). Cf. Thomson's *Bibliog. of Ohio*, no. 16.

Zerah Hawley, *A Journal of a tour through Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York, the north part of Pennsylvania and Ohio, including a year's residence in that part of the State of Ohio styled New Connecticut or Western Reserve* (New Haven, 1822).

A. Welby, *Visit to North America and the English settlements in Illinois, with a winter residence at Philadelphia* (Lond., 1821).

Since 1820 the published travels are too numerous for particular mention.

The principal record of the advance of trade, manufactures, and material progress in general is Albert S. Bolles' *Industrial Hist. of the U. S. from the earliest settlement to the present time* (Norwich, Conn., 1878, etc.). See, also, J. L. Bishop's *Hist. of American Manufactures, 1608–1860* (Philad., 1861); *The First Century of the Republic;* J. D. B. DeBow's *Industrial resources of the South and West* (New Orleans, 1852, in 3 vols.); L. Stebbins's *Eighty Years' Progress of the U. S.* (1861–1864 — in divisions by different writers); George Tucker's *Progress of the U. S. in Population and Wealth in fifty years, 1790–1840* (N. Y., 1843); T. Pitkin, *Statistical view of the Commerce of the U. S., 2d ed., with additions* (N. Y., 1817); A. Seybert, *Statistical Annals of the U. S., 1789–1818* (Philad., 1818); D. B. Warden, *Statistical, political, and historical account of the U. S.* (Edinburgh, 1819, in 3 vols.).

The development of the United States is also the main theme of John Macgregor's *Progress of America* (London, 1847, in two vols.). McMaster has given more than usual attention to this aspect in his history, so far as published; and it is in some measure touched by the other general historians. The divisionary topics of the general subject are treated in monographs, like the following: Samuel Batchelder's *Introd. and early progress of the Cotton Manufacture in the United States* (Boston, 1863); cf. letters in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, iii. 221. B. F. French, *Hist. of the Rise and progress of the Iron trade in the U. S., 1621–1857* (N. Y., 1858). Alexander Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery to 1876* (Waltham, Mass., 1878).

We must look to local histories for the accounts of the opening of trades and commerce specially associated with places, as in the *Memorial Hist. of Boston* for the earliest ventures on the northwest coast and the trade in ice.[1] Hunt's *American Merchants*, and *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine* are useful aids. The histories of our larger cities and industrial centres are necessary in investigations of this progress.

The successive censuses of the United States are the basis of tracing the increase of population, with the steady march of its centre westward along the parallel which lies neighboring to Baltimore and Cincinnati. Cf. W. J. Bromwell's *Hist. of immigration to the U. S. 1819–1855* (N. Y., 1856); and on the "Redemptioners," see McMaster (ii. 558) and references.

There is no good history of the whole course of American literature since the combining of the colonies in 1776. It is concisely traced by E. P. Whipple in *Our First hundred years;* and *Poole's Index*, under "American Literature" and "Literature," will indicate the abundant periodical ventures on this and the other phase of the subject; which can be supplemented by such books as R. W. Griswold's *Prose Writers of America*, his *Poets*, and *Female Poets of America;* and similar books on the poets of the West by Gallagher, Coggeshall, and better still by Duyckinck's *Cyclopædia of American Literature*, and by references to the alphabetical arrangement of Allibone's *Dictionary of Authors*. Unfortunately Moses Coit Tyler's *History of American Literature* is not yet continued into the period of the Revolutionary war. The lives of the leading writers are, in fact, for the present, the best source of the study of the progress of letters. Geo. W. Greene gives a chapter to the Revolutionary period in *Historical View* (Boston, 1864).[2]

Apart from the political essay, the best known productions of the Revolutionary period proceeded from a group of poets. It is not easy to give them any order of precedence from merit.

Joel Barlow had been encouraged in his college days by Noah Webster and by others to attempt a national epic, and at Northampton (Mass.), during the year following his graduation at Yale (1778), he had made a draft of his *Vision of Columbus*. For the next three years he was a chaplain in the army, and his letters describe his camp life. The *Vision* was not published till 1787.[3]

The *McFingal, a modern epic poem*, by John Trumbull, was begun in 1774, when the poet found the sub-

[1] Cf. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Jan., 1856.

[2] The bibliography of the Revolution has not been adequately prepared. Haven's list appended to Thomas' *Hist. of Printing* (Amer. Antiq. Soc. Ed.) only comes down through 1775. Catalogues like the Brinley and Carter-Brown are of use, and titles can be picked out in Sabin. The only thorough piece of work yet done for the whole period is confined to one State, namely, C. R. Hildeburn's *Century of printing; the issues of the press in Pennsylvania, 1685–1784* (Philadelphia, 1885–86, in two vols.). The best key to the scattered mass of local historical literature is A. P. C. Griffin's *Index of Articles upon American local history in historical collections in the Boston Public Library* (Boston, 1889).

[3] It passed to a second edition, and was also reprinted in England the same year; and appeared in other and revised editions in Paris. Recast and augmented it became known as *The Columbiad* in 1808. Mr. C. B. Todd, who gave some account of Barlow in his *History of Redding, Conn.*, in 1880, later published the extended memoir, *Life and Letters of Joel Barlow, with extracts from his works and hitherto unpublished poems* (New York, 1886). Mr. Todd had the use of the papers and letters of Barlow, which had been gathered during fifty years by the poet's grand-

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ject for his satire in the actions of the Tories of those days, but he did not complete it and publish it entire till 1782 at Hartford.[1]

Philip Freneau was of Huguenot stock and was born in New York in 1752, and graduated at Princeton in 1771, a classmate of James Madison. His commencement part, a *Poem on the rising glory of America*, was

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printed at Philadelphia in 1772. (Cf. Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic*, p. 248.) He was captured by the British on the coast of Delaware and confined in a prison-ship, and commemorated his experience in a poem published at Philadelphia in 1781, *The British Prison Ship*. The first edition of *The Poems of Philip Freneau, written chiefly during the late war* (Philad., 1786), is a book now become rare.[2]

nephew, Prof. Lemuel G. Olmsted, and these papers were in the possession of the late Mr. S. L. M. Barlow of New York. Cf. a paper on "The forgotten American worthies" in *Lippincott's Magazine*, July, 1880; and the *Mem. Hist. of Hartford County*. For bibliography, see Sabin's *Dictionary;* the *Harris Collection*, p. 19; and the *Brinley Catal.*, iv. 6782, etc. Cf. *Poole's Index*, p. 99.

[1] Cf. J. H. Trumbull on the origin of *McFingal*, in the *Hist. Mag.*, xiii. p. 1. The poem has passed through many editions since, and the *Poetical Works of John Trumbull*, with *McFingal* revised and corrected, and a memoir — seemingly by himself — was edited by S. G. Goodrich at Hartford in 1820, but it did not prove a successful venture. It has a portrait of the author by his kinsman, Col. John Trumbull. Trumbull soon removed to Detroit (1825), where he lived with his daughter, and died in 1831. Cf. "Pleiades of Connecticut" in the *Atlantic Monthly*, xv. 187, and the *Memorial Hist. Hartford County, Conn.*, i. 157. The bibliography is given in the *Brinley Catal.*, iv. no. 6959, etc.

[2] It sometimes brings in these days $30 to $50 (Brinley, iv. no. 6864). A second volume followed in 1787 — the

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Timothy Dwight, David Humphreys, and Francis Hopkinson are the only other names to complete this early group.[1]

Of the other sex the most conspicuous are of the two extremes of the social scale. Mercy Warren represented the social wit of the higher circles of life in Massachusetts; and Phillis Wheatley, a young negress, slave to a Boston merchant, attracted the attention of Washington, and has since elicited the sympathy of such as have become interested in her sad career.[2]

The ballad literature of the time has had special treatment in Duyckinck (i. p. 427), in Frank Moore's *Songs and Ballads of the Revolution*, and in his incomplete *Illustrated Ballad History of the American Revolution* (six parts). Winthrop Sargent has collected the *Loyalist Poetry of the Revolution*.

For the period immediately following upon the close of the war, there is a cursory survey in Schouler (ii. 259), but it took the ripening of many years to bring American literature into competition with that of older peoples.[3]

There is a paper on the colleges in the Revolution by Joel T. Headley in the *Knickerbocker Mag.*, lvii. p. 353. Duyckinck follows their progress in a summary manner; and the histories of the principal ones, like Harvard and Yale, disclose their relations to the Revolutionary struggle.

To the later life of the Republic several series of publications, sustained for restricted periods, have been given to the printing of original Revolutionary documents, like the *Publications of the Seventy-six Society* (Philad., 1855–57), in four volumes,[4] 150 copies printed; C. I. Bushnell's *Crumbs for Antiquarians* (1862–1866, in 2 vols.); Munsell's *Historical Series* (Albany, 1857–61) and his *Series of American Local History* (Albany, 1863, etc.) only in part pertain to the Revolution;[5] only two numbers were issued by *The Club* (New York, 1857,[6] one hundred copies), which was then merged in the *Bradford Club*, which issued seven numbers, only four of which, however, pertained to the Revolution.[7] Only one number was issued of a series purporting to be published by the *Zenger Club* (New York, 1861).[8]

H. B. Dawson's *Gleanings from the Harvest-field of American history* (New York, 1860, etc. — 250 copies printed).

Miscellaneous Works of Mr. Philip Freneau (Brinley, iv. 6864). The most complete of his own editions was *Poems written between the years 1768 and 1794, a new edition, revised and corrected by the author* (Monmouth, N. J., 1795 — Brinley, iv. 6865). In 1809 the third edition appeared at Philadelphia, — *Poems written and published during the American Revolution, and now republished from the original manuscripts* (Brinley, iv. 6866). A volume containing his productions written after 1797 appeared at New York in 1815. The greatest activity of Freneau's life came after the Revolution, and a full account is given in Duyckinck (i. p. 327–348) and in the introductory memoir by Evert A. Duyckinck, given in an edition of his *Poems relating to the American Revolution* (New York, 1865), bringing together in one volume these special poems which appeared in Freneau's different volumes. Cf. *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Feb., 1887, p. 121, for an account of Freneau, with a fac-simile of an early portrait and of the title of the edition of 1809.

[1] For Dwight, see the *Mem. Hist. Hartford Co.*, i. 157. For Humphreys, see the bibliographical data in the *Brinley Catal.*, iv. no. 6876, and H. P. Johnston's *Yale and her honor roll in the American Revolution* (New York, 1888). For Hopkinson, see Sanderson's *Signers of the Declaration of Independence*, vol. ii. (with portrait by Pine; cf. also Delaplaine's *Repository*, 1815; *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, ii. 237). His house at Bordentown is depicted in Brotherhead's *Book of the Signers*, 1861, p. 31. Cf. Allibone's *Dictionary* and Duyckinck's *Cyclop. Amer. Lit.* His best known poem of the Revolution is his *Battle of the Kegs* (Hildeburn, no. 3887; Lossing's *Cyclop. U. S. Hist.*, i. 109).

[2] *Poems on Various subjects, religious and moral, by Phillis Wheatley, Negro servant to Mr. John Wheatley of Boston in New England* (London, sold in Boston, 1773). It has the profile figure of the writer sitting at a writing table, engraved on copper, "published Sept. 1, 1773, according to act of Parliament." A fac-simile of this print is herewith given. There are two copies of the book in Harvard College library, both of which have the neat and easy autograph of Phillis on the reverse of the title, — and most if not all of the known copies are so marked.

In 1834 a *Memoir of Phillis Wheatley*, by B. B. Thacher, was published in Boston, which has become very scarce (Brinley, iv. 6990). A memoir by Miss M. M. Odell was also prefixed to a collected edition of her poems (Boston, 2d and 3d ed., 1835 and 1838). An account of her, with some of her letters, was printed by Dr. Chas. Deane in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Nov., 1863 (separately 100 copies, Boston, 1864), who gives a bibliography of the subject, which may be supplemented by the titles in Brinley, iv. 6983, showing some which had escaped Dr. Deane.

[3] The fullest bibliography of any part of American literature is the *Harris Collection of American Poetry*, edited by J. C. Stockbridge (Providence, 1886), — an unworthy record, as it proved, of the assiduous attention of Mr. C. Fiske Harris of Providence, in gathering a collection valuable for its extent, if not in any great part for its merit. The collection was bought after Mr. Harris's death by Senator H. B. Anthony of Rhode Island; and was bequeathed by him to the library of Brown University.

[4] Brinley, no. 4140; Cooke, no. 2245.

[5] Alofsen, nos. 10, 11.

[6] The first number was *Melvin's Journal of the Kennebec Expedition* (1775), and it was reprinted ostensibly by the Franklin Club, Philad., 1864. Cf. *Alofsen Catal.* (1876), nos. 12, 13. The second number was the *Diary of Washington, 1789–1790*, edited by Lossing (1858). The originator of The Club was Mr. William J. Davis.

[7] Mr. John B. Moreau was the originator of the Bradford Club. Its publications were: 1. F. B. Hough's *Papers concerning the attack on Hatfield and Deerfield* (1859); 2. J. R. Drake and Fitz-Greene Halleck's *Croakers*, ed. by J. B. Moreau (1860); 3. John G. Shea's *Operations of the French fleet under Count de Grasse* (1864); 4. Henry C. Murphy's *Anthology of New Netherland* (1865); 5. *Career of De Soto in Florida*, transl. by B. Smith (1866); 6. F. B. Hough's *Northern Invasion of Oct., 1780* (1866); 7. Wm. G. Simms' *Army correspondence of Col. John Laurens* (1867). It also issued as an extra number E. A. Duyckinck's *Memorial of John Allan* (1864), a New York antiquary. Cf. *In Memory of J. B. Moreau* (N. Y., 1886), and the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1887.

[8] Alofsen, no. 16.

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The effect of the newspapers of the country upon its political progress has had some significant recognitions. Books like Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic* and McMaster's *United States* have drawn largely from the contemporary press to elucidate that progress. The *History of Printing*, by Isaiah Thomas, and the *History of Journalism in the United States*, by Frederick Hudson, offer something like historical treatment of the subject. The spirit of Thomas is purely that of an antiquarian, and he has little to say of anything after the war. Hudson's method, unfortunately, discloses the brisk and somewhat sensational habit of a newspaper office, in which the author had his training, but he had the political editor's apprehension of the relation of the press to the current politics of the later years. Mr. S. D. North contributed to the publications of the Tenth Census an extensive paper on *The History and Present Condition of the newspaper and periodical press of the U. S.* (Washington, 1884). The summary in Andrews's *Hist. of Journalism* is scant.

Mr. S. G. W. Benjamin, in two papers on "A Group of Pre-Revolutionary Editors," and "Notable Editors between 1776 and 1800" (*Mag. Amer. Hist.*, Jan. and Feb., 1887), has rapidly sketched the careers of some men noted in their day, and in his second paper he tells the story of Rivington, Hugh Gaine, Matthew Carey, and other leading controversialists of the Revolution. All these may be supplemented by references in *Poole's Index*, under "Press," "Newspapers," and "Journalism." The story of the first newspaper published west of the Alleghanies, *The Kentucky Gazette*, is told in the *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, Aug., 1887. Hudson (p. 195) says *The Centinel of the North West Territory*, begun in Cincinnati in 1793, was the earliest Western newspaper.

The most considerable account of the New England press is Joseph T. Buckingham's *Specimens of Newspaper Literature* (Boston, 1850, in two volumes), though the book also contained some accounts of newspapers of other parts of the country. Delano A. Goddard published at Boston in 1880 a paper on the *Newspapers and newspaper writers of New England, 1787–1815*. The histories of all the larger cities contain as a rule historical sketches of their respective presses.

The newspapers most commonly encountered in the history of politics for the first half century under the Constitution are these:—

Benjamin Russell, *Massachusetts Centinel* (Federal), Boston, 1784; known after 1790 as the *Columbian Centinel*.

John Fenno, *Gazette of the United States* (Federal), N. Y. and Philad., 1789, etc.[1]

Philip Freneau, *National Gazette* (Republican), Philad., 1791, etc.[2]

Benjamin F. Bache, and, later, William Duane, *General Advertiser and Aurora* (Republican), 1790, etc.

The *Boston Gazette*, which during the war had been a power, became anti-federal and lingered till 1798.

Noah Webster (and others), *Minerva* (Federal), 1797, etc., later known as the *Commercial Advertiser*.

Colman, *Evening Post* (Federal), N. Y., 1800.[3]

James Cheetham, *American Citizen* (Republican), N. Y., 1800, etc. It had previously been the *N. Y. Journal*. Adverse to Burr.

Smith and, later, Gales, *National Intelligencer*, Washington, 1800.

Peter Irving, *The Morning Chronicle* (Republican), N. Y., 1802. Friendly to Burr.

Austin and others, *Independent Chronicle* (Republican), Boston, 1789. It was originally started in 1776.

Park, *Repertory*, 1803.

Thomas Ritchie, *The Enquirer* (Republican), Richmond, Va., 1804.

The Patriot (Republican), Boston, 1809. It was united with the *Independent Chronicle* in 1817.

Nathan Hale, *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 1813.

The Massachusetts Mercury (Federal), Boston, 1793; later the *New England Palladium*, 1801.

The first daily was the *American Daily Advertiser* (Philad., 1784), and the earliest penny paper was the *Morning Post* (N. Y., 1833).

The particular histories of the press need to be supplemented by the lives of the leading journalists, like Wallace's *Col. William Bradford;* the memoir of Isaiah Thomas, prefixed to the Amer. Antiq. Society's ed. of his *Hist. of Printing;* H. E. Scudder's *Noah Webster; Recollections of the Life of John Binns, written by himself* (Philad., 1854); the *Personal Memoirs* of Joseph T. Buckingham; a *Life* of William W. Seaton (Boston, 1871) by his daughter; the *Autobiography* of Amos Kendall, ed. by Stickney; the *Life of Gerard Hallock;* the *Memoirs* of James Gordon Bennett, and the paper on Bennett by James Parton in his *Famous Americans;* notices of George D. Prentice (cf. Lippincott's *Magazine*, Nov., 1869); Charles T. Congdon's *Reminiscences of a Journalist* (Boston, 1880); the life of William Lloyd Garrison by his sons; the *Recollections of a busy life*, by Horace Greeley, and Parton's memoir of Greeley; A. Maverick's *Henry J. Raymond and the N. Y. press*, and a paper in *The Galaxy*, April, 1870. The measure of the influence of one of the strongest American journalists, though his active share in political history began only with the annexation of Texas, can be got from Geo. S. Merriam's *Life and Times of Samuel Bowles* (N. Y., 1885) of *The Springfield (Mass.) Republican.*

[1] Hudson, p. 181; McMaster, ii., etc.

[2] Hudson, p. 185; McMaster, ii. 49; Rives' *Madison*, iii. 193.

[3] *Reminiscences of the first half century of the N. Y. Evening Post* (N. Y., 1851).

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The controversial spirit of the years preceding the outbreak of the war in 1775 had given rise to a kind of publication that the advance of the newspaper press after many years finally superseded. A few of these, beginning with some of these earlier ones, may be mentioned: —

A *Collection of Tracts from the late newspapers* (N. Y., 1769) was a selection of essays from the newspapers of Pennsylvania, New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts between March 14, 1768, and Jan. 23, 1769, made with impartiality as regards the representation of both sides, and they particularly concerned the controversy over the introduction of bishops. It was a half-sheet weekly, printed for the *N. Y. Thursday Journal* (Sabin, iv. 14,395).

The *Censor* was published in Boston in defence of Hutchinson, beginning Nov. 23, 1771, and was printed weekly for some months. It was at first occupied with replies to the articles signed "Mucius Scævola" in the *Massachusetts Spy*, and these replies are thought to have been written by Lieut.-Gov. Oliver.

Aitken's *General American Register* was printed at Philadelphia for 1773 and 1774, and throws much light on postal service and similar details of life at that time (Hildeburn, ii. nos. 2740, 2847).

The serial publication of Thomas Paine called the *American Crisis* was begun at Philadelphia in 1776 and continued through the war (Hildeburn, ii. 3432, 3595, 3764, 4034, 4227). The papers were reprinted collectively as *The Crisis, being a series of pamphlets in sixteen numbers, written during the American Revolution* (New York, 1877).

The *American Register, a general Repository of History, Politics, and Science*, was published in seven volumes between 1806 and 1810.[1]

The most important of all this kind of publication was Hezekiah Niles' *Weekly Register*, afterwards known simply as *Niles' Register*, which was begun in Baltimore in 1811, and which as a gathering of documents of our political history has never lost its value. It was continued till 1849, when 76 volumes had been published. It has since been republished in 36 volumes.

2. ENGLISH. — Early in the outbreak of the war Almon, a London publisher, began a documentary publication, with a sympathetic leaning towards the colonies, or at least against the ministry, which proved to be a valuable repository. Its purpose was to select from all public prints the best account of every material public event. *Almon's Remembrancer or Impartial Repository of Public Events* was begun in London, June 15, 1775; but the second edition of the first volume has preliminary matter not in the original issue.[2] The editor soon made good his purpose, as Smyth says, of "displaying the injustice of the design and the folly of the councils of Great Britain." Two years later, and in order to preserve the records of the controversy which foreran the outbreak of hostilities, Almon published in one volume (1777), *Prior Documents: or a collection of interesting, authentic papers relating to the dispute between Great Britain and America, showing the causes and progress of that misunderstanding from 1764 to 1775*.[3] He also published in 1776 what is known as *Almon's Tracts*, or, as the general title runs, *A Collection of the most interesting tracts lately published in England and America on the subject of taxing the American colonies and regulating their trade*.[4]

Another periodical, more severe on the ministry than Almon, had already preceded the *Remembrancer*, but failed to attain success. The first number of *The Crisis* was begun in London, Jan. 4, 1775, and the set ends June 8, 1776, making as bound two folio volumes.[5]

A publication more nearly resembling the *Remembrancer*, and in which, according to Barbier and others, Franklin is said to have had a hand, was begun at Antwerp in 1776, though it is thought to have been printed in Paris. The *Affaires de l'Angleterre et de l'Amérique* was continued to 1779, making 24 cahiers in 8 tomes, though it is usually found in seventeen volumes.[6] There is an account of it, with a collation, by P. L. Ford, in the *Penna. Mag. of History*, July, 1889, p. 222.

[1] An *Amer. Annual Register* had been published at Philadelphia for a single year in 1796; and a publication under the same name was printed 1825–1833.

[2] Between 1775 and 1784 there were 17 vols. issued; and with the 2d ed. of vol. i. we have a complete set in 18 vols. Almon is said to have been aided by Geo. Pownall (Sparks, no. 2216; Brinley, ii. no. 3934). It is worth about $5 a volume; though latterly it is often offered in fine binding at much higher prices. A set is quoted in 1887 at $155.

[3] Worth about $10.

[4] Sabin, iv. no. 14,392, who cites also no. 14,385, a *Collection of scarce and interesting tracts, written by persons of eminence upon the most important political and commercial subjects during the years 1763–1770* (London, 1770); Stevens (*Nuggets*, no. 3267; *Catal. of rare books relating to America, 1885*, no. 13) notes *The American Gazette, being a collection of all the authentic addresses, memorials, letters, etc., which relate to the present disputes between Great Britain and her colonies; containing also many original papers never before published.* He says six numbers, each with a separate title, appeared in octavo, between 1768 and 1770, with an appendix in 1769; while the whole, with a collective title and table of contents, was reissued in 1770. He has seen only one complete copy, that in the British Museum.

[5] Some copies are reported as having 98 nos., ending Oct. 12, 1776. It was in part reprinted in New York, in Newport, and in New London. Sabin, v. 17,516–17; *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, ii. 233.

[6] Sabin, i. no. 491. Sabin notes some other foreign periodicals as throwing a certain reflected light on American affairs, like the *Affiches Américaines*, published at Port-au-Prince in seven volumes, 1777–1783 (*Dictionary*, i. no. 493); *Courier politique et litteraire . . . or French Evening Post*, London, 1777–1785 (*Ibid.*, v. no. 17,165), and *Gazette de Leyde* (*Ibid.*, vii. p. 191).

Some amusing instances of the ignorance of the compilers of the contemporary handbooks, intended to serve the ordinary European reader of American affairs, have been noted. In Don Francisco Alvares' *Noticia del Establecimiento y Poblacion de las Colonias Inglesas en la America Septentrional* (Madrid, 1778), we learn that New England is divided into eleven provinces and four counties,

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Later in the war the Tory side found expression in such parts of the *Political Magazine, and Parliamentary, naval, military, and literary Journal* as touched the current war in America, the publication beginning at London in 1780.[1]

Referring to the contemporary magazines then issuing in London, Prof. Smyth, in his twenty-sixth lecture, speaks of them as giving "the manners and opinions living as they rise," and they almost always afford a chronicle of events, often give us the official reports of officers in the field, and chronicle the ephemeral tract literature which distinguished the progress of the political changes in England.[2] The *Monthly Review* was generally friendly to the colonies, and its editor is said to have been a Dr. Bancroft, who had lived in America.[3]

A *Calendar of the Journal of the House of Lords* was published in London in 1810. General indexes of the *Lords Journals* before 1779 and after 1780 were printed in 1817 and 1822; and of those of the Commons in 1778 (covering 1714–1774) and 1796 (1774–1790).

Bancroft[4] says that "the proceedings in Parliament till 1774 had something of a confidential character," and he adds that "from sources the most various, private letters, journals, and reports, preserved in France, or in England, or in America, I have obtained full and trustworthy accounts of the debates on the days most nearly affecting America."

The debates of the second parliament of George III (May, 1768, to June, 1774) were recorded privately by Sir Henry Cavendish; and were printed down to 1771 in *Sir Henry Cavendish's Debates of the House of Commons, edited from the original MSS. by J. Wright* (London, 1841–43), in 16 parts or two vols.[5]

Cavendish's manuscript shorthand note-books, forty-eight in number, of his reports of the speeches in Parliament from 1768 to 1774,[6] are among the *Egerton MSS.* in the British Museum. They contain a hundred speeches of Burke, who wrote out, from notes furnished to him by Cavendish, his speech of April, 1774. They contain also speeches of Grenville, Fox, Dunning, North, Barré, and others.

The principal source of the speeches in Parliament during the progress of the Revolutionary war is what is known as *Almon's Parliamentary Register*, of which there are 17 volumes between 1775 and 1780. A new series by Almon and Debrett was begun in 1781, and continued by Debrett. They are put into the shape usually referred to in William Cobbett's *Parliamentary History*, which brings them down to 1803, when the title was changed to *Parliamentary Debates* — the collection now called, from the printer, *Hansard*.[7]

with much else of a similar character (Stevens, *Bibl. Hist.*, 1870, no. 1450). In the *North American and West Indian Gazetteer*, reprinted in 1778 in London, for the use of officers ordered to the colonies, we read of Bristol, R. I., that the king of Spain has a palace there and was killed in it — a very obscure recognition probably of Philip of Pokanoket. We can well believe, after this, that the *North British Review* (vol. xxxi. p. 196) was right in saying that the English of the age of George III "knew little of New England and its people."

Continental ignorance of the conditions of American life is also somewhat amusingly displayed in sundry engravings of the Revolutionary episodes which appeared in the *Historisch-genealogischer Calendar, 1784* (Leipzig). For instance, at the Boston Tea-party, a "Mohawk" is represented naked (in December) sitting on the wharf, smoking his pipe. Washington, in December, 1776, is represented as conducting the Hessians captured at Trenton over the portcullis of a stronghold, with a naked Indian looking on. André is represented as struggling with his three captors in the gloom of night.

[1] Sabin, xv. 63,784. It has many portraits, plans, and views. It was continued to 1790, and was issued at the start in the Tory interest. At the end of its first volume it announced that "a considerable stock of manuscript materials for composing a history of the present war in America has been put into our hands. We shall be glad to receive from the numerous Loyalists from that continent now resident in England, any information."

[2] Smyth (*Lectures*, Bohn's Ed., ii. 391) characterizes this pamphlet literature, citing some of the best of the tracts, like those of Dean Tucker, Robinson, Dr. Johnson, Burke. "To a thorough understanding of the American Revolution by future generations, a general history of the mass of pamphlets which it occasioned is becoming very essential," says C. F. Adams, in a note to John Adams' references to contemporary pamphlets, in his *Novanglus* (*Works*, iv. 15). One of the best collections of tracts of the Revolution is that in the Carter-Brown library, which is described by J. C. Stockbridge, in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.* (vi. 310). See *Ibid.* (v. 427) for those in the library of Brown University. The catalogues of the Harvard College and Boston Athenæum libraries are rich in this direction. Cf. A. R. Smith's *Catalogue* (1874), no. 1590, etc.

[3] Sabin, xii. no. 50,198. The other periodicals which were continued during the war were: *The Gentleman's Magazine*, of Sylvanus Urban, which was forty-four years old when the conflict opened. It was begun in 1731, and continued to bear its original character as a repository of historical and antiquarian lore till 1868. The *London Magazine* was begun in 1732, and was of much the same character. Its maps and views are perhaps of more interest to the American student than those of its rival; but its publication was not continued beyond 1783. The *Westminster Magazine* began in 1773, and was continued through the American war. Something of interest can also be found in the *Town and Country Magazine* (London), and in the *Universal Magazine;* but complete sets of these are not easy to find in this country. They both cover the period of the American war, and throw occasional light on special points.

[4] Final revision, iii. 484.

[5] It was not till 1771 that the right of the press to publish reports of Parliamentary debates was conceded (Massey, *England*, ii. 93; Trevelyan, *Early Life of C J. Fox*, ch. viii.). On the history of reporting debates in Parliament, see C. Townshend's *Memoirs of the House of Commons*, ii. ch. 14; and May's *Constitutional Hist. England*, 7th ed. ii. 34.

[6] Cf. Smyth's *Med. History*, ii. 361, 378, on the importance of these debates. There is a French collection of them: *Discussions importantes, débatues au parlement d'Angleterre par les plus célèbres orateurs depuis 30 ans* (Paris, 1790, in four volumes). The third volume is largely concerned with the American war.

Extracts of the debates in Parliament, Mar. 11–15, 1776, as probably made by Roubaud, and sent by Garnier to Versailles, are given in Doniol's *Participation de la France à l'établissement des États-Unis*, i. p. 473.

[7] Gardiner and Mullinger's *English Hist. for Students*, N. Y., 1881, p. 227. This series, known as *Hansard's*

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When we consider the wealth of material brought to light on both sides, we may agree with Erskine May that no part of English history "has received more copious illustration than the revolt of the American colonies."

Of the narrative on the American war in the *Annual Register*,[1] Dr. William Smyth, in his *Lectures on Modern History*, says that it "contains in the most concise form the most able, impartial, and authentic history of the dispute which can be found (1840). The account is understood to have been drawn up by Edmund Burke, and if so (and there is no doubt of it), the arguments on each side are displayed with an impartiality that is quite admirable."[2] Gordon says that these accounts were held by Americans at the time to be the best given in any foreign publication.[3]

The sections from the *Register* were reprinted as *An impartial History of the War in America between Great Britain and her Colonies from its Commencement to the end of the year 1779* (London, 1780).

A work having in part much the same text was issued in Dublin in 1779, as *The History of the War in America between Great Britain and her Colonies, from its Commencement to the end of the year 1778*. It is called "in two volumes," but the second volume is "a collection of interesting and authentic papers tending to elucidate the History," — a collection more extensive than was appended to the London edition of 1780. A third volume is sometimes added to the Dublin edition, dated 1785. It continues the story to the close of the war. The editor's preface in the two editions is not the same.[4]

The original text was reprinted in Boston by Fleet in 1780, in three volumes of varying titles, namely: (1) *History of the Origin, Rise, and Progress of the War in America to 1774* (90 pp.); (2) *History of the Rise and Progress of the War in North America to 1777*; (3) *History of the War in America*, etc., to 1778. This third part is called a second volume, because parts 1 and 2 were bound together as the first volume.[5]

The next year (1781) the issue in numbers of a new work was begun in Boston by Nathaniel Coverly and Robert Hodge, with engravings by a Boston artist, J. Norman. The title reads: *An Impartial History of the War in America between Great Britain and the United States from its Commencement to the end of the War.* The text, while following in part that which originated in the *Annual Register*, is mostly rewritten and gives a view more in accordance with the sentiments of the patriots. The publication of no. 3 of vol. iii., completing the work, did not take place till 1785. It has an appendix of "interesting and authentic papers."[6]

Another work of similar title, credited to the Rev. James Murray, shows a decided affinity to the side of the rebels, though, as a hurried compilation, there is some mixture in its views.[7] It was issued at first in numbers, and was finally published without date, in two volumes, as an *Impartial History of the present War in America*, with portraits and maps (Newcastle-upon-Tyne; some copies, London, 1778).[8] A third volume was begun, but stopped at p. 332. The titles of the volumes differ somewhat, and some are dated Newcastle, 1780, and a second edition was issued at Newcastle in 1782.

The first volume of *A History of the Civil War in America, by an Officer of the Army* [Capt. Hall, of Howe's regiment], was published in London in 1780, and covered 1775–1777, a second edition appearing the same year. It was not continued.[9]

Charles Henry Arnold's *New and impartial universal history of North and South America, and of the present trans-Atlantic war*, was published in London in 1782.

Two years after the close of the war, John Andrews published his *History of the War with America, France, Spain, and Holland, 1775–1783* (London, 1785–86, in four volumes). It is a hasty compilation, largely from the newspapers and pamphlets of the day, and was for a while the narrative most satisfactory to the Tory party, though, with some exceptions, its recital is not altogether to their credit. The author seems firm in the belief that French intrigue following the treaty of 1763 did much to instigate the revolt, and that the approbation of the opposition in Parliament did quite as much to forward the measures of the Revolution as the acts of the rebels themselves. It has a considerable number of portraits, some of which have been reproduced in the present work.

Thomas Jones, a justice of the Supreme Court of New York, and a loyalist, was living on Long Island during a part of the war, and for another part was a prisoner of war in Connecticut. He left the country in 1781, and lived henceforth in England, and between 1783 and 1788 wrote an account of the war, which is the

Parliamentary Debates, consists now of over 400 volumes, divided as follows, down to 1885: —

PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY. The Conquest to 43 Geo. III. 1066–1803, 36 vols.

DEBATES, FIRST SERIES. 1803 to Death of George III. 1803–20, 41 vols.

DEBATES, SECOND SERIES. Reign of George IV. 1820–30, 25 vols.

INDEX to First and Second Series, 1 vol.

DEBATES, THIRD SERIES { Reign of William IV. 1830–7. Reign of Victoria. 1837–85.

301 vols.

[1] The *Annual Register* was begun in 1758, and is still continued. The papers on the American war begin in vol. xix.

[2] Smyth (Bohn's Ed.), ii. 365; and again, p. 433.

[3] They were reprinted in the *Columbian Magazine* in 1789, and afterwards separately (1790).

[4] Sabin, vii. 1785; viii. 32,226. Lowndes gives P. Gordon as the author.

[5] Sabin, viii. 32,193.

[6] Sabin, ix. p. 61.

[7] It is in fact, as Mr. A. M. Davis tells me after making a comparison, to about the extent of three quarters merely a reprint of the text of the Boston edition, with some verbal changes.

[8] Sabin, xii. pp. 493, 494.

[9] *Brit. Mus. Catal.*, "America," column 8; Brinley, ii. no. 4030.

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most extensive narrative which has come down to us from a Tory, to show us the thought and feelings that influenced the loyalists. The manuscript came down in the family without being used till, under the editing of Mr. Edward Floyd De Lancey, it was published by the New York Historical Society in 1879. It makes two large octavo volumes, and one half of each holds the editor's notes. It is called a *History of New York during the Revolutionary War and the leading events in the other colonies at that period.* One is prepared, from the portrait of the judge which faces its title, for the somewhat satirical and cynical air which pervades the book, and the reader frequently finds the author's tendency to irony not always conducive to a correct estimate of his moral nature. He represents the loyalists as abused equally by the patriots and the government, and deals out his chastisements with the same vigor on both sides.[1]

A View of the Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution, in thirteen discourses, preached in North America, 1763–1775, with an historical preface, by Jonathan Boucher (London, 1797). The book is very respectfully dedicated to Washington, though the author, once his neighbor and friend, acknowledges himself to have been hostile to the Revolution.

There are six lectures on the American War at the end of William Smyth's *Modern History*, which express the better feeling of seventy years ago, and they are accompanied by some advice on reading about this period; and Sparks, in 1841,[2] says "it would be difficult to find any treatise on the American Revolution, confined within the compass of six lectures, from which so much can be learned, or so accurate an estimate of the merits of both sides of the question can be formed."

The *United States* of James Grahame, first published in 1836, brought the story down only to the Declaration of Independence.[3] Mahon[4] says that Grahame in his last volume becomes *Americanis ipsis Americanior.*

An anonymous *Hist. of the American Revolution*, ascribed to the Rev. T. Shepherd, though sometimes to one Blake, was published in London (1830, 1834) by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.[5]

A popular narrative is Michael Doheny's *History of the American Revolution* (Dublin, 1846).

Events down to July, 1776, are epitomized in J. A. Doyle's *American Colonies previous to the Declaration of Independence* (London, 1869); and the whole course of the war is summarized in J. M. Ludlow's *War of American Independence, 1775–1783;*[6] and is similarly treated in Tannoch's *England during the European and American Wars, 1765–1820.*

The only general British history of much importance as respects the military conduct of the war, and of little value for its political observations, is the work which goes under the name of Stedman, though its author is said by Lowndes (without known authority) to have been a Dr. William Thompson: *The History of the origin, progress, and termination of the American War, by C. Stedman, who served under Sir William Howe, Sir Henry Clinton, and the Marquis Cornwallis* (London, 1794, in two quarto volumes).[7] Smyth[8] says of Stedman that there "are some facts and anecdotes given by him not to be found in others; and he has the appearance, too, of being honest, and of speaking freely of what he thought." Stedman's view of the ability of Sir William Howe is low, and in his text we have a more deliberate opinion of Howe's incapacity than the equally derogatory judgment which was shared in England by many officers at the time, though Marshall thinks that greater spirit on Howe's part would have led him into conditions that might have exposed him to more danger than the spirit of inaction, which governed him, entailed. Smyth thinks that Lord George Germain's assertion that he would not reinforce Howe, when requested, because he did not think it necessary, was merely a way of avoiding the confession that, in the condition of England, he could not assist him. At Howe's urgency an investigation was held in Parliament, and the Debates record the evidence, mainly by Cornwallis and Grey on Howe's side, and by Robertson and Galloway on the part of Germain.[9]

[1] Professor Henry P. Johnston published *Observations on Judge Jones' loyalist History of the American Revolution. How far is it an authority?* (New York, 1880). He claims that from 1776 to 1781 Jones was under parole and had no communication with either headquarters, so that he got no information but at second hand.

[2] In his edition of the book, Cambridge, 1841.

[3] Cf. Vol. V. p. 620.

[4] Vol. v. 69.

[5] It was reprinted at Boston in 1832; at Columbus, Ohio, in 1834; and at New York in 1844, 1846, 1847, 1854, 1860, and also in Spanish at New York in 1854 (Sabin, ii. 5783).

[6] One of the *Epochs of Modern History* series.

[7] The book is well supplied with Faden's maps, corrected somewhat from their original state, and is worth now about $15 or $20; but, with extra binding, will go as high as $45.

[8] Vol. ii. 462.

[9] The literature of this controversy consists of the following separate publications, beside the records of the Debates: —

Observations on the conduct of Sir W—— H—— at the White Plains, as related in the Gazette of Dec. 30, 1776 (London, 1779).

Two letters from Agricola to Sir William Howe; to which are annexed, by the same author, Political Observations (London, 1779) — equally severe on Howe and Burgoyne.

Historical Anecdotes, Civil and military, written from America, 1777–78, and Observations on the management of the War and the conduct of the Commanders (London, 1779). This is a loyalist production (Sabin, viii. 32,064).

The Examination of Joseph Galloway before the House of Commons (London, 1779).

Letters to a Nobleman on the Conduct of the War in the middle colonies [by Joseph Galloway] (London, 1779, two editions, and two in 1780).

The Narrative of Lieutenant-General Sir William Howe in a Committee of the House of Commons, 29 Apr. 1779, relative to his conduct during his late command in North America, to which are added some observations upon a pamphlet entitled Letters to a Nobleman (second ed., London, 1780). The volume also includes the testimony of Cornwallis and others. There was a third edition in 1781.

There was a French version of Howe's vindication published at La Haye and Rotterdam in 1781. It was called

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Of the military histories of lesser importance, mention may be made of a *History of the War with America, France, Spain, and Holland, 1775–1783* (London, 1787); *A History of all the Engagements by sea and land that happened in America and Europe, 1775-1783*, "from accounts given by the secretaries of state and the admiralty board" (Manchester, Eng., 1787);[1] Beatson's *Naval and Military Memoirs of Great Britain*, 1804; Grant's *British Battles;* Admiral Charles Ekins' *Naval battles from 1744 to the peace in 1814* (London, 1824), which gives official documents; the various regimental *Historical Records;*[2] and special monographs, like Duncan's *Royal Regiment of Artillery* (London, 1872–73).

The Memoirs of Josias Rogers by Wm. Gilpin (London, 1808) is an account of a British naval officer who was on the coast during the American war, and spent a considerable time as a prisoner among the Americans.

Lieut.-Col. J. G. Simcoe's *Military Journal; a history of the operations of a Partisan Corps called the Queen's Rangers during the Revolution, with a memoir of the author* (privately printed at Exeter, 1787; reprinted in New York, 1844).[3]

Gen. Carrington (*Battles of the Revolution*) gives the official records of the British forces in America from 1775 to 1782, by statements made yearly or oftener.[4] The *London Mag.* (Feb., 1778, copied in *Bay State Monthly*, April, 1884) gives the British losses down to Burgoyne's surrender, as 29,098, including killed, wounded, and prisoners. Gen. Carrington printed in the *Bay State Monthly*, June, 1884, p. 395, a list of the British losses from Bunker Hill to Yorktown, as found in the Public Record Office.[5]

Dr. Edward Everett Hale, in the *Amer. Antiq. Soc. Proc.*, Oct., 1881, pp. 322, 442, notes some of the characteristics of the English officers of the war, using some notes on that subject by Major Wemyss, which are preserved in the *Sparks MSS.* He mentions a rumor, not substantiated, that Lord Clive was thought of as the commander-in-chief, in the beginning. It is known that George III did not approve the selection of Gage, and suggested Sir Jeffery Amherst; and Samuel Quincy, writing from London, Aug., 1778, says Amherst had consented to succeed Gage.

Campagnes militaires du Lieut.-Gen. Sir William Howe en Amérique; d'après le compte rendu par lui-meme dans un comitte de la chambre de Communes, le 29 Avril, 1779. It has a preface, signed Nov. 25, 1780, not in the original.

A reply to the observations of Lieut.-Gen. Sir Wm. Howe on a pamphlet entitled Letters to a Nobleman, in which his misrepresentations are detected, etc.: to which is added an appendix containing, I. *A letter to Sir Wm. Howe upon his Strictures on Mr. Galloway's private character;* II. *A letter from Mr. Kirk to Sir Wm. Howe and his answer;* III. *A letter from a Committee to the President of Congress on the state of the rebel army at Valley Forge, found among the papers of Henry Laurens* [by Galloway] (London, 1780; 2d ed., with additions, Lond., 1781). The last letter is dated Valley Forge, Feb. 12, 1777, and is signed by Francis Dana, and sets forth the embarrassments of the army service.

A view of the evidence relative to the conduct of the American War under Sir Wm. Howe, Lord Howe, and Gen. Burgoyne, as given before a committee of the house of Commons; to which is added a Collection of the celebrated Fugitive Pieces that are said to have given rise to that enquiry (2d ed., London, 1779). It contains the evidence of Cornwallis, Grey, Montressor, Carleton, Balcarras, Robertson, Galloway, and others. The Appendix contains a letter from N. Y., Mar. 9, 1777; remarks on Howe's account of the Long Island fight; various letters appertaining to and criticisms on his campaign of 1777; Gov. Johnstone's speech (Mar. 22, 1779) on Howe's conduct. The third edition was called *The detail and conduct of the American War under Generals Gage, Howe, Burgoyne, and Vice-Admiral Lord Howe, with a very full and correct state of the whole evidence as given before a committee of the House of Commons, and the celebrated Fugitive Pieces which are said to have given rise to that important inquiry: The whole exhibiting a circumstantial, connected, and complete history of the real course, progress, and present state of the American Rebellion* (London, 1780, in three editions). Cf. Sabin, v. 19,774.

Sparks wrote in his copy of this book that its principal object was to attack the Howes and Burgoyne, and that "the facts are everywhere distorted, opinions are perverted by prejudice and a vindictive spirit, and the representations extravagant and often false."

Respecting the naval service, we have by Galloway *A letter to the Right Honorable Lord Viscount H——e on his naval conduct in the American War* (London, 1779), in which he compares the British and American fleets to Howe's disadvantage.

A candid and impartial narrative of the transactions of the fleet under the command of Lord Howe, with Observations by an officer then serving in the fleet (London, 1779).

A letter from Cicero to the Right Hon. Lord Viscount H——e, occasioned by his late speech in the H——e of C——ns [by Galloway] (Lond., 1781).

A copy of Stedman's History, annotated by Sir Henry Clinton, is in the Carter-Brown library, and a transcript of Clinton's notes is among the *Sparks MSS.* De Lancey used these Clinton notes in editing Jones's *New York during the Revolutionary War.* Clinton's *Observation on Mr. Stedman's History of the American War* (London, 1794) was privately reprinted (50 copies) in New York in 1864.

[1] Sabin, viii. 32,121.

[2] Cf. J. H. Lawrence-Archer's *British Army; its regimental records, badges, devices, etc.* (London, 1888).

[3] The original edition, which was without date, is very scarce. F. S. Ellis, *Catal.* (1884), no. 269, £21 Quaritch advertised a copy with the original drawings of the ten maps and MS. notes by Clinton. (*Catal.*, 1885, no. 29,710, £55; 1888, Jan., no. 175, £50.)

[4]

1775 (Boston)	9,147	1780, May	38,002
1776 (New York)	31,626	1780, Aug.	33,020
1777, June	20,957	1780, Dec.	33,766
1778, Aug.	33,756	1781, May	33,374
1779, Feb.	30,283	1781, Sept.	42,075
1779, May	33,458	1782, Jan. 1	40,469
1779, Dec.	38,569		

Cf. Sparks' *Washington*, v. 542. There is a drawing of a British Grenadier in the *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, Jan., 1886; and in Smith's *Lit. and Hist. Curiosities.*

[5] Bunker Hill, 1054; Long Island, 400; Fort Washington, 454; Trenton (including prisoners), 1049; Hubbardton, 360; Bennington (not including prisoners), 207; Freeman Farm, 550; Bemis Heights, 500; Burgoyne Surrender, 5763; Forts Clinton and Montgomery, 190; Brandywine, 600; Germantown, 535; Monmouth (including deserters), 2400; Siege of Charleston, 265; Camden, 324; Cowpens, 724; Guilford Court House, 554; Hobkirk Hill, 258; Eutaw, 693; New London, 163; Yorktown, 552; Cornwallis surrendered, 7963.

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John Adolphus wrote his *History of England* (1760–1783) as a continuation of Smollett, and published it in 1802. The last edition appeared 1840–46, in seven volumes. Sparks speaks[1] of the author's "arduous labors at an advanced age in procuring materials for his last and improved edition," but he pronounces the part touching the American war to "abound in important errors." Smyth deems that the writer's Tory instinct makes him always too indulgent to Parliament; but credits him with putting the reader "very fairly in possession of the views and arguments of Lord Chatham and others who opposed the [coercive] system." The aim of Adolphus was to relieve the pride of his countrymen of the charge of political folly, and to make the proceedings of the colonists appear unreasonable. For this he found willing readers, as the publication of four large editions in less than forty years has proved.

The reign of George the Third has had special treatment, more or less illustrating the war and the attendant feelings in England, in a *History of the Second Ten Years of the Reign of George the Third, 1770–1780*, (London, 1782);[2] in *Political Memoirs, or a view of some of the first operations of the war after the French notification, as they were regarded by foreigners* (London, 1782).[3]

Belsham's *Memoirs of the Reign of George the Third* (1760–1793) was published in 1795–1801, and was later embodied in his *History of Great Britain* (1806). It is a somewhat earnest presentation of the anti-ministerial motives.

George Robertson's *History of the reign of George the Third; in which are narrated the most memorable events of this period; particularly the American war, the French revolution, and the contest closed by the battle of Waterloo* (London, 1815).

As supplementing the regular histories, we must turn to the memoirs of contemporary public characters, and to the lives which have since been written of them. Prominent among such material is the *Memoirs of the Reign of George III., by Horace Walpole, edited with notes by Sir Denis Lemarchant* (London, 1845, in four volumes). It covers the first twelve years (1760–1772), and Walpole's changing estimates of his contemporaries show the shades of opinion through which he passed as the years of its composition went on. His reports of debates in Parliament are valuable. The record may be made complete by his *Last Journals*, or, as the title reads, the *Journals of the Reign of King George the Third, 1771–1783, edited with notes by Dr. Doran* (London, 1859, in two vols., with portraits of John Wilkes and Lord North), and by the *Letters of Horace Walpole*, as edited by Cunningham — in all of which there are frequent comments and records, which show how Walpole's wit made some hard thrusts at the weaknesses of the ministry.[4]

Other important running commentaries on contemporary politics, each more or less touching the American question, are Sir Nathaniel William Wraxall's *Historical and Posthumous Memoirs, 1772–1789;*[5] the lives correspondence, and speeches of Chatham;[6] the *Memoirs of Rockingham;*[7] the *Correspondence of John, fourth Duke of Bedford, selected from the originals at Woburn Abbey, with an introduction by Lord John Russell* (London, 1842, in three volumes), which ceases to be of help after 1770; the *Grenville Papers, being the correspondence of Richard and George Grenville, their friends and contemporaries, edited with notes by William James Smith* (London, 1852, in four volumes); Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice's *Life of William, Earl of Shelburne, with selections from his Papers and Correspondence* (London, 1875–76, vol. i., covering 1737–1766; ii. 1766–1776; iii. 1776–1805). The *Correspondence of Edmund Burke* has never been entirely published; but we have an edition printed in 1844 (London, 4 vols.), edited by Earl Fitzwilliam and Sir R. Bourke. The various editions of his *Works* enable us to trace his Parliamentary arguments on the American question, but they have none of his private letters. The several accounts of his life examine his position in respect to the American war. The earliest of any importance is Prior's *Memoir of Burke* (London, 1826). The Rev. George Croly's *Memoirs of the political life of Edmund Burke* was published at London in 1840. The most important life is that by Macknight.[8] The latest account is John Morley's *Edmund Burke, a Historical Study* (London, 1867).

Lord John Russell's *Memorials and Correspondence of Charles James Fox* (London, 1853–54, in three vols.) is a somewhat disordered work, but of great value, and it has afforded the groundwork of a better book, *The Life and Times of Fox* (London, 1866, in three vols.), likewise prepared by Earl Russell, as the editor was later styled.

George Otto Trevelyan's *Early Hist. of Charles James Fox* (London, third ed., 1881) takes Fox through his connection with the ministerial party, and his secession from it in 1774. "Nowhere else," says C. K. Adams,[9] "are the corruptions of the old methods and the follies of the policy of George III. so graphically and powerfully described."[10]

The inquiries among the English State Papers, which were instigated by Sparks, led to the opinion being entertained by the British government that the English side of the story "would bear telling and ought to be told," and Robert Southey was approached to see if he would undertake it. Southey declined, but in 1832 he recommended the subject as "a fine one" to Lord Mahon, and urged his taking it, as "its history would vin-

[1] *Letter to Mahon*, p. 39.
[2] Sabin, vii. 26,998; viii. 32,210.
[3] Sabin, xv. 63,785.
[4] There are some biting characterizations of the several British commanders-in-chief, — in the *Last Journals*, ii. 499, 500, for instance.
[5] See Vol. VII. index.
[6] See Vol. VI. p. 112.
[7] See Vol. VII. index.
[8] See Vol. VII. index.
[9] *Manual of Hist. Lit.*, p. 524.
[10] See further in Vol. VII. index.

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dicate the honor of this country, at the same time that it rendered full justice to the opposite cause."[1] In due time Mahon undertook the task as a component part of his *History of England, 1713–1783* (fifth ed. revised, London, 1858), of which the events previous to 1774 are treated in vol. v., those for 1774 to 1780 in vol. vi., and the close of the war in vol. vii.[2] The account of the Revolution is on the whole a temperate one, and the reader is "impressed with the sincerity and general fairness of the writer;" and must recognize "the diligence and depth of his researches."[3] The style of the book is hardly a polished one, and his reflections are mostly too obvious to be called for.

Lecky (*Hist. of England*, i. p. vi) says of his predecessor: "Lord Stanhope was not able to bring to his task the artistic talent, the power, or the philosophical insight of some of his contemporaries; but no one can have studied with care the period about which he wrote without a feeling of deep respect for the range and accuracy of his research, for his very unusual skill of selecting facts, and for his transparent honesty of purpose."

Among the more recent general histories of England, reference may be made to the Reign of George the Third in the *Pictorial History of England*, with its decided Tory bearing; Wm. Massey's *History of England during the reign of George III.* (London, 1855–1863, vol. i., covering 1745–1770; ii., 1770–80; iii., 1781–93; iv., 1793–1802), judicial in tone, with a tendency to be severe on the king; Viscount Bury's *Exodus of the Western Nations*, in which (vol. ii. ch. 10) is a severe arraignment of Grenville's policy, while in his condensed narrative there is more or less confounding of events, particularly those of local bearing; Knight's *Popular Hist. of England*, which represents the average British view; and for the political changes, Charles Duke Yonge's *Constitutional History of England* (London, 1882). Buckle's *Hist. of Civilization*, chapter vii., dwells on the political degeneracy of the times.[4] Wright traces the daily humors in his *Caricature History of the Georges.*

W. E. H. Lecky, in the third and fourth volumes of his *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, tells in most respects the story of the Revolution admirably, and for its extent his narrative is hardly equalled. His foot-notes show that he had used the most essential authorities, and he is both judicious and careful. Reasonable Americans will hardly dispute his principal conclusions. He teaches[5] them to understand that the "patriots" of the Revolution were no more superlative heroes than the men which troublous times amid jealous excitements commonly produce. He gives[6] a very explicit account of the way in which the king dominated the methods of the war.

At a late day of the war appeared a *View of the history of Great Britain, during the administration of Lord North, to the second session of the fifteenth parliament. In two parts. With statements of the public expenditure of that period* (Dublin, 1782). This was recast in a more concise form by Hilliard d'Auberteuil, who added a narrative of the war, and published it in Paris in 1784, in two volumes, as *Histoire de l'administration de Lord North, ministre des finances en Angleterre, depuis 1770 jusqu'en 1782, et de la guerre de l'Amérique septentrionale jusqu'à la paix, suivie du tableau historique des finances d'Angleterre, depuis Guillaume III. jusqu'en 1784* (Londres, 1784).[7]

There is as yet no English general history of the United States of distinctive value. The one prepared by Henry Fergus for *Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia* (London, 1830) did its inadequate service fifty years ago. The more pretentious *History and Topography of the United States*, edited by John Howard Hinton, was finished as a subscription serial in 1832, with plates. It told the story of the Revolution without reference to Lexington and Bunker Hill. Samuel L. Knapp revised it, and it was issued at Boston in two quarto volumes in 1834. It passed to later editions in England, and was again amended and extended in another American edition by Dr. John O. Choules. Mr. W. H. Bartlett, the draughtsman, began a *History of the United States* (London, 1856), but the continuation and completion of it fell to B. B. Woodward. It appeared in three large volumes, the first coming down to 1789, the second to the administration, and the third to the period of publication. What is known as *Cassell's United States* (London, 1876) is a three-volume quarto pictorial publication, assigned to Edmund Ollier on the title-page, and Col. Joseph L. Chester, an American antiquary resident in London, is said to have been concerned in it. The latest is Percy Greg's *History of the United*

[1] Mahon's (Stanhope's) *England*, vi. app. p. i.

[2] It was originally published in six volumes, 1836–51, some of the early volumes undergoing revision before the whole was completed. A third revision took place in 1853–54. Stanhope died in 1875. Cf. Edwards' *Men of Eminence* (London), vol. i.; Doyle's *Official Baronage*, iii. 408. There is an American edition edited by Henry Reed, whom the English author thanks for "his great care and accuracy" (Mahon, v. 73).

[3] R. C. Winthrop, in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xiv. 193. Palfrey, however, of his earlier edition said that he felt very confident that Mahon had never seen Hutchinson's *History* (cf. N. Amer. Rev., July, 1852; Jan., 1855; *International Mag.*, v. 164).

[4] Buckle (ch. vii.) dwells on the barbarities of the British mode of warfare, and cites his authorities. Lecky (iv. 106) thinks it difficult to measure the barbarities exactly because of the American exaggerations.

[5] Vol. iv. p. 113.

[6] Vol. iv. 76.

[7] There is a German translation by A. Wittenberg (Hamburg, 1783), and a Spanish one (Madrid, 1806). Sabin, viii. 31,901–3. The personal characteristics of the king and the quality of his relations with North have at last been set forth explicitly in *The Correspondence of King George III. with Lord North, 1768–1783, edited from Originals at Windsor, with an introduction and notes by W. Bodham Donne* (London, 1867, in two volumes). In this book it was first made apparent that the minister for five years had, against his own judgment, done the king's bidding in sustaining the war. The popular estimate of North has been by this book considerably changed.

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States from the foundation of Virginia to the reconstruction of the Union (London, 1887, in 2 vols.), which has a Southern partisan tone, and some surprising turns of observation.

3. FRENCH.— The *Courier de l'Europe*, a French journal published in London, had ceased, owing to a diversity of opinion as to editorial management, and was succeeded in May, 1777, by the *Courier politique et literaire, annoncés et avis divers: a French Evening Post*, to be conducted "on the subject of politics, strictly impartial (with decency) to all parties." It was continued to 1785,—making 18 vols. in all, and contains current records relating to the War of Independence. There is a set in Harvard College library.

The *Mémoires* of Lafayette are noted elsewhere. Scheffer, who wrote a *Histoire des États-Unis* (Paris, 1825), is said by Balch to have received some assistance from Lafayette.

An aid of Lafayette, Comte de Moret de Pontgibaud, is commemorated in the *Mémoires du Comte de M...., précédés de Cinq lettres, ou considérations sur les mémoires particuliers* [par le Comte C. M. de Salaberry] (Paris, 1828).[1]

The *Mémoires politiques, historiques, et politiques de Rochambeau* were published at Paris in 1809, and an English translation of the portion relating to the American Revolution, by M. W. E. Wright, was printed at Paris in 1838.[2]

Of Rochambeau's officers we possess several of their own memoirs. The *Souvenirs du lieut.-général Comte Mathieu Dumas, publiés par son fils* (Paris, 1839, in 3 vols.), and the English edition, *Memoirs of his own Times* (London, 1839). The *Mémoires de Monsieur le duc de Lauzun par lui-même* (Paris, 1822).[3] The *Mémoires du Comte de Ségur* were printed in Paris in 1825 and 1842, and an English translation at London in 1825–27.[4]

Balch, during his sojourn in Paris, brought to light a MS. journal of Claude Blanchard, chief commissary, 1780–83, of the French army, which was translated by William Duane and edited by Thomas Balch, and was printed at Albany in 1876. It has few military details.[5]

Rochambeau probably either wrote himself, or perhaps only dictated, that account of his American expedition[6] which forms a part of the *Histoire des troubles de l'Amérique Anglaise, écrite d'après les mémoires les plus authentiques*,[7] by François Soulès, which was published in Paris in 1787, in four volumes.[8] Sparks[9] calls this history the best written and most authentic in the French language, and says that the portion relating to the movements of Rochambeau's army is nearly identical with a narrative later published in Rochambeau's *Mémoires*. A large part of Soulès' book was, Sparks further says, read in manuscript by Rochambeau and the minister of war.[10]

The *Révolution de l'Amérique* of the Abbé Raynal was issued in 1781,[11] with the imprint of Londres, but the book is thought to have been actually printed at Geneva.[12]

A work of Michel René Hilliard d'Auberteuil was published at Brussels in 1781–82, under the general title of *Essais historiques et politiques*, the first volume reading, in addition, *sur les Anglo-Américains*, and the second, *sur la révolution de l'Amérique septentrionale*.[13]

J. Mandrillon's *Le Spectateur Américain, ou remarques générales sur l'Amérique et sur la République des treize États-Unis* (Amsterdam, 1784; 2d ed., enlarged, 1785).

Odet Julien Leboucher's *Histoire de la dernière guerre entre la Grand Bretagne, les États-Unis d'Amé-*

[1] Balch, p. 15.

[2] Cf. Tuckerman's *America and her Commentators*, p. 111. For R. C. Winthrop's visit to the chateau of Rochambeau, see *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xx. 99.

[3] An edition, under the supervision of Louis Lacour, was printed in 1855; but, interdicted for a while, it was republished in 1858 (Sabin, x. nos. 39,271–72). An edition was published at Paris in 1880, with an introductory study of Lauzun and his memoirs by Georges d'Heylli. There was an English edition in London (1822).

[4] Cf. Tuckerman, *America and her Commentators*, p. 117. The *Mémoires ou souvenirs et anecdotes* form vols. i.-iii. of his *Œuvres complètes*, published at Paris in 33 vols., 1824–1830.

[5] Cf. Balch, *Les Français en Amérique*, p. 8; *Revue militaire française* (1869). The original text has since been printed in Paris (1881) as *Guerre d'Amérique 1780–1783. Journal de campagne de Claude Blanchard, commissaire des guerres principal au Corps Auxiliaire Français sous le commandement du lieutenant-général comte de Rochambeau.*

[6] Balch, p. 16.

[7] Leclerc, *Bibl. Amer.*, no. 1014. A German translation was published at Zurich in 1788.

[8] A "Mémoire sur la guerre de l'independance des États-Unis, à date de l'arrivée du corps français, 1780, ecrit par Monsieur le Comte de Rochambeau, par ordre du ministre pour le Sieur François Solés, auteur," is in the *Collection de Manuscrits . . . relatifs à la Nouvelle France* (Quebec, 1884), vol. iv. pp. 343–376.

[9] *Washington*, viii. 135.

[10] Cf. *Sparks MSS.*, no. xxxii.

[11] Two editions this year, one of 171, the other of 183 pages.

[12] An edition also appeared at Dublin. There was the same year (1781) a Dutch translation at Amsterdam, and an English one, *Revolution in America*, at London. In 1782 another English version, *Revolution of America*, was published at Salem, and at Edinburgh in 1783. Sometimes, but probably falsely, attributed to Raynal is the *Tableau et révolutions des Colonies Anglaises dans l'Amérique septentrionale* (Paris, 1788). Cf. *Letter addressed to the Abbé Raynal on the affairs of North America, in which the mistakes of the Abbé's account of the Revolution of America are corrected and cleared up by Thomas Paine* (Philadelphia; reprinted in London, 1782), and a French version by Cerisier, Brussels, 1783.

[13] Sabin, viii. p. 295. There were octavo editions in 1781 and 1784, and a quarto edition in 1782. The list given (vol. ii. 413) by Hilliard d'Auberteuil on the French officers in the American service is reprinted in the *Mag. of American History*, June, 1879. Hilliard d'Auberteuil sent various copies of his *Essais*, through Franklin, to gentlemen in America, to be corrected for a new edition (Bigelow's *Franklin*, iii. 203).

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rique, la France, l'Espagne, et la Hollande depuis son commencement en 1775 jusqu'à sa fin en 1783, was published anonymously at Paris in 1787, and, with a slightly changed title, in 1788. The title was further changed to *Histoire de la guerre de l'indépendance* in the Paris edition of 1830.

Filippo Mazzei, who lived several years in Virginia, is held to be the author of *Recherches historiques et politiques sur les États-Unis de l'Amérique septentrionale par un citoyen de Virginie, avec quatre lettres d'un bourgeois de New Heaven sur l'unité de la legislation* (Colle, 1788), in four volumes. Lafayette told Sparks that he deemed the book authentic and worthy of confidence.

Guillaume Tell Poussin's *Les États-Unis d'Amérique, 1815–1873* (Paris, 1874), has appeared in an English version.

Count Adolphe de Circourt, in translating and annotating that part of Bancroft's *United States* which contains his account of the French alliance, had published it separately as *Histoire de l'action Commune de la France et de l'Amérique pour l'indépendance des États-Unis* (Paris, 1876), making three volumes, in the second of which the translator embodied some *Conclusions Historiques* of his own, in which he gave a summary of the rise and progress of American independence. This paper, translated into English and furnished with a preface by its author, is printed in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, Oct., 1876. Circourt's third volume is documentary.

Of the monographs on the Revolution and of those broader histories which include accounts of it, but which are all of little importance, mention may be made of a few: —

Abrégé de la Révolution de l'Amérique Anglaise (1774–1778) par M.... Américain (Paris, 1778). The author was Paul Ulric Dubuisson.[1]

The Abbé Pierre Charpentier de Longchamps' *Histoire impartiale des évènemens militaires et politiques de la dernière guerre [1775–1783], dans les quatre parties du monde* (Paris, 1785; 3d ed., revised and enlarged, Amsterdam, 1787).

Chas and Lebrun's *Histoire politique et philosophique de la révolution de l'Amérique septentrionale* (Paris, 1802).

Chevalier de Langeac's *Anecdotes anglaises et américaines. Années 1776 à 1783*, published anonymously in Paris, 1813.[2]

P. J. S. Dufey's *Résumé de l'histoire des Révolutions de l'Amérique septentrionale* (Paris, 1826, in two volumes).

Edward Laboulaye's *Histoire des États-Unis, 1620–1789* (Paris, 1856–66; 2d ed., 1867). The second of its three volumes covers the Revolutionary war, and is the substance of lectures given by him at the College de France, which were planned for the enlightenment of French students, without effort at original research.[3]

Frédérick Nolte's *Histoire des États-Unis de l'Amérique depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris, 1879), in two vols.

The centennial of 1876 brought from the Marquis de Talleyrand-Périgord an *Étude sur la république des États-Unis d'Amérique, 1776–1876* (New York, 1876).

The participation of the French in the Revolutionary war has several special treatments: —

J. F. Milliroux's *Conféderation Américaine* (Paris, 1861) gives France the credit of the success of the Revolution.

Thomas Balch's *Les Français en Amérique pendant la guerre de l'indépendance des États-Unis, 1777–1783* (Paris, 1872), gives notices of the French regiments and officers. Edwin Martin Stone's *Our French allies in the great war of the American Revolution* (Providence, 1884) was occasioned by the visit of the French representatives to Newport at the time of the anniversary of the surrender of Yorktown.

Léon Chotteau's *La Guerre de l'indépendance (1775–1783); les français en Amérique, avec une préface par Edouard Laboulaye*, reached a third edition in Paris in 1882. There is also a paper on the French participation in the *Revue militaire française* (1870, vol. ii.).[4]

The most important contribution of this kind, however, is Doniol's *Participation de la France à l'établissement des États-Unis*, which is not yet, however, completed.[5]

The naval aspects of the French participation is traced in Edouard Chevalier's *Histoire de la marine Française pendant la guerre de l'indépendance Américaine* (Paris, 1877).[6]

[1] A German translation, *Historischer Abriss*, etc., was published at Berne in 1779. Cf. *Vorstellung der Staatsveränderung in Nordamerika von den ersten Unruhen im Jahr 1774 bis zu dem Bündniss der Krone Frankreichs mit den Kolonien, von einem Amerikaner* (Zweyte Auflage. Bern, 1784).

[2] Cf. *Amerikanische Anekdoten aus den neuesten Zeiten. Ein Auszug aus dem Französischen* (Leipzig, 1789).

[3] C. K. Adams, *Manual of Hist. Literature*, p. 534. The book is becoming rare.

[4] A French critical sketch of the military operations is in the *Political Mag.*, iii. 459.

[5] See Vol. VII. p. 79.

[6] *Extrait du journal d'un officier de la marine de l'Escadre de M. le Comte d'Estaing* (1782); *Relation des combats et des évènements de la guerre maritime, par Y. J. Kerguélen* (Paris, 1796); Hennequin's *Biographie maritime ou notices historiques sur la vie et les campagnes des marins célèbres* (Paris, 1835–1837, in three vols.).

There is a memoir by Sydney Everett of the commander of the French fleet at Newport in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.* (Oct., 1873, p. 404); and an account of his death there, and monument, in E. M. Stone's *French Allies* (p. 341).

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4. GERMAN AND ITALIAN. — The most valuable contributions in German to the history of the Revolution have been the later monographs of Kapp on Steuben and De Kalb, and sundry books respecting the mercenaries of Hesse and Brunswick, of which more detailed mention is made elsewhere.

Julius August Remer published at Braunschweig in 1777–78, in three volumes, his *Amerikanisches Archiv.*[1]

Among the earlier subsidiary works, though not of much importance, are Adam Friedrich Geisler's *Kurze Karakter- und Thaten-schilderungen* (Dresden and Leipzig, 1784), which gives some account of British and of German auxiliary officers of the war;[2] Schlözer's *Correspondenz* (Göttingen, 1781), which gives some characteristics of the American officers;[3] and M. C. Sprengel's *Geschichte der Revolution von N. Amerika* (Speyer, 1785), which is a small treatise with a map of the States based on Faden's.

The most considerable German history of the United States is K. F. Neumann's *Geschichte der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika* (Berlin, 1866, in three vols.), which is enthusiastically Northern in its tone. It comes down to the inauguration of Lincoln.[4]

H. von Holst's *Verfassung und Demokratie der Vereinigten Staaten* (Düsseldorf, 1873, etc.) is more particularly described in another place. See Vol. VII, index.

Some of the military criticisms of Heinrich Dietrich von Bülow, translated from his *Militärische und Vermischte Schriften* (Leipzig, 1853), are in the *Historical Magazine*, ix. 105, 141.

In the early years of this century an Italian, Carlo Botta, instigated by the talk which he heard in a Paris salon,[5] set to work on a history of the American Revolution, and, as the *Storia della guerra Americana*,[6] published it in Paris in 1809, in four volumes.[7] The work was enthusiastically received, and until Bancroft's volumes on the Revolution appeared, was generally held to be the best account of the struggle, though his method of putting long speeches into the mouths of the leading personages provoked some criticism, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson particularly taking exception to them.[8] Adams, though in his letters he expresses no favorable opinion of it,[9] praised it to the American translator. Jefferson called it superior to all others. Grahame, in the preface to his latest edition, says he was deterred from giving the history of the Revolution by the excellence of Botta's work, "of so much merit and so well suited to the present era." Prescott in 1855 still called it the best, and Bancroft so late as 1875 called it admirable.[10]

There is also a *Storia delle Colonie Inglesi in America*, by C. D. Londonio (Milano, 1813, in 3 vols.), which includes the Revolutionary war.

[1] Sabin, xvii. 69,549.

[2] Sabin, vii. no. 26,843.

[3] *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, vi. 125.

[4] C. K. Adams' *Manual*, 535. Von Holst disparages it (Eng. transl. i. 240).

[5] G. W. Greene, *German Element in the War of Independence*, p. vii. Cf. Prescott's *Essays*, p. 209.

[6] *Storia della guerra del independenza degli stati uniti d'America* is the title which Botta gave his book, and the publisher furnished the shorter title. He affixes a list of the English and French books on which he based his work, — among them are Gordon, Ramsay, Andrews, Marshall, Hilliard d'Auberteuil, Soulès.

[7] It was reprinted at Milano in 1819 in four volumes; and at Livorno in 1825–26 in seven volumes. A French translation appeared at Paris in 1812–13, in four volumes, edited by M. de Sevelinges. The French preface was translated in the Milan edition. The French publisher had already in 1808 printed a French translation of Marshall's *Washington*, and had reëngraved Marshall's *Atlas*, which was now added to the French Botta, as well as an engraving of Stuart's Washington, made originally for the French version of Marshall. Botta was translated into English by George Alexander Otis of Boston, and published at Philadelphia in 1820, in three volumes, at Boston in 1826 in two volumes, and at New Haven (1838) and Glasgow (1844) and Buffalo (1854) — not to name other editions. Cf. *North Amer. Review* (vol. xiii.) by F. C. Gray; and *Letters and other writings of Madison*, iii. 32, 201, 203.

[8] Adams (*Works*, x. 172), referring to a speech on independence given to R. H. Lee, writes to Thomas McKean of it "as a splendid morsel of oratory — how faithful you can judge." Botta contended that the speeches were genuine reproductions of their authors, or of the parties to which the alleged speakers belonged, though he confesses to have added some embellishment to the speeches of Richard Henry Lee and John Dickinson, for and against independence.

[9] *Works*, x. 177.

[10] *United States*, orig. ed., x. 131.

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THE EDITOR'S FINAL STATEMENT.

THE plan of this work was developed and arrangements were made for its progress in March, 1881, while the Editor had still in hand another coöperative work, *The Memorial History of Boston.* When his purpose was brought to the attention of the Massachusetts Historical Society, that body marked its interest in the undertaking by appointing an advisory committee, which consisted of ROBERT C. WINTHROP, then its President, GEORGE E. ELLIS, and CHARLES DEANE, then Vice-Presidents, HENRY W. TORREY, then the leading professor of history in Harvard University, and FRANCIS PARKMAN, the historian of New France. Affiliations were sought and obtained with other historical societies here and in other countries through some of their members, who had given special attention to the fields of research that it was purposed to cover. In this way the assistance has been obtained of thirty-nine different writers.

The Editor had a definite purpose in his mind when he undertook this History, which was to add a distinctly critical treatment to the combined authorship which had characterized the earlier work. His intention was not to offer a model for the general writing of history, based on a coöperative and critical method. There is no substitute for the individuality of an historian.

His experience during many years in charge of large libraries resorted to by scholars, had made it very clear to his own mind that there was a value, at intervals of time, both for the writer and for the student, in grouping the original material which had come to light, so that the facilities of the historian should be understood. There was an almost equal advantage in making apparent what had already been done in the use of such material.

The Editor had also learned the importance of the monograph as rounding the treatment of any phase of history, in a way rarely accomplished in more comprehensive work. He thought, too, that he had discovered how the eye which surveys the broader field loses in some degree its sense of adjustment to narrower details, both of action and record, which characterize the monograph and which belong to the province of the specialist in historical research. It might, he thought, be no small gain to bring such specialists into unison, side by side, in the elucidation of the broader aspects of American history.

It was further believed that the field of historical geography was more intimately connected with that of history in general than had usually been recognized; and that it was difficult to see how any period of discovery could be understood without a constant apprehension of the geographical conditions which the discoverers supposed they were dealing with.

It was felt also that there is a necessary sympathy between the graphic illustrations belonging to a period under observation and the progress of its events; and that a certain wrong is done to the critical sense if other pictorial associations are established.

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It was to be expected that the plan would show in its development certain deficiencies, that are more easily avoided in the ordinary methods of writing history. While the several narratives aimed to be condensations of existing knowledge, the degree of compression would vary with the mental characteristics of the several writers; and comparing one narrative with another, there might be want of continuity, change of style, and contrasts of treatment. There was likely, too, to be disproportion in the critical essays and their attendant notes; since the amplitude of detail was to be determined quite as much by the material to be worked upon as by the importance of the topic, and the two were not sure to be in accurate correlation.

In reference to his own functions, the Editor would say, that, while he has attempted, from the vantage-ground naturally belonging to such a supervisor, to do something towards unifying the several chapters, in regard to spirit and general scope, beyond what was possible for the several writers to do, who were not generally in correspondence with one another, he has at the same time left them free in the expression of opinions; so that in one chapter and another a diversity of view may appear. If the intent of the book be considered, this will not appear an unfortunate conjunction, inasmuch as one of its chief purposes is to reflect the opinions of those most entitled to be heard, — and these may often be at variance. In such matters as Old and New Style in chronology, and in the spelling of proper names, he has not thought it necessary to make the different writers conform, but has allowed their several preferences to prevail.

Necessarily much of the Editor's work is not patent; but he has made some parts palpable by affixing his mark, to relieve his fellow-workers of any responsibility which should attach to himself alone. These supplements to the well-directed labors of his coadjutors have been seen in proof by the several writers, and they have kindly and freely given the Editor the benefit of their judgment. Upon no one of his friends, however, has he been more constantly dependent than upon Dr. DEANE.

JUSTIN WINSOR.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY LIBRARY,
September, 1889.

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CHRONOLOGICAL CONSPECTUS OF AMERICAN HISTORY.

*** Treatment of the geological and prehistoric periods will be found in Volume I. Events of other continents associated with the progress of opinion as respects the existence of a western world and associated with the course of history in America are also included, so far as they are mentioned in the present work. The publication of books, cardinal in regard to the progress of historic knowledge, has also been noted, as well as the making of maps defining the condition of geographical views at their respective dates.

X Cent. B. C. Homer's geographical views, i. 39; Brasseur de Bourbourg begins Mexican history 955 B. C., i. 155.

VII Cent. B. C. The Greeks under Colæus sail west, i. 25.

VI Cent. B. C. Spherical shape of the earth taught, i. 2.

V Cent. B. C. The Carthaginians sail west under Hanno and Hamilco, i. 25.

The Pirua dynasty is held to have begun in Peru, i. 225.

IV Cent. B. C. Plato and the story of Atlantis, i. 15, 41; Aelian cites Theopompus about Western islands, i. 21; Pytheas and Euthymenes explore the Western ocean, 26; views of Aristotle, 28, 37; of Pytheas, 34.

III Cent. B. C. Eratosthenes measures the size of the earth, i. 4.

II Cent. B. C. Geographical ideas of Marinus of Tyre, Polybius, and Hipparchus, i. 8, 34.

I Cent. B. C. Sertorius hears of the Atlantic islands, i. 26; references in Virgil and Horace, 27; geographical ideas of Strabo and Posidonius, 27, 34; the dream of Scipio in Cicero, 36; Diodorus Siculus on the Carthaginian discovery of America, 41; strange men cast on the German coast, 26.

I Cent. A. D. Plutarch's *Morals* and the Saturnian continent, i. 23; Seneca's prophecy, 27, 29; Roman voyages to America, 41; Pomponius Mela's *Cosmographia*, i. 35; ii. 180.

II Cent. A. D. Ptolemy's geographical views, i. 34; ii. 95, 165; St. Clement and the world beyond the ocean, i. 37.

III Cent. A. D. The geographical views of Solinus, i. 35; ii. 182.

IV Cent. A. D. The compass known in the Indian Ocean, ii. 94.

From the fourth to the seventh century the Nahuas occupy the Mexican plateau, i. 137.

V Cent. A. D. The cosmological theories of Macrobius, i. 11; ii. 28; Proclus and the Atlantis myth, i. 35.

The Chinese alleged to have reached Fousang, i. 78.

VI Cent. A. D. King Arthur in Iceland, i. 60.

The Toltecs reach Mexico, and the building of Teotihuacan, i. 139, 182.

503. Mexican history begins according to Ixtlilxochitl, i. 156.

577. *May 16.* St. Brandan died, i. 48.

596. Mexican history begins according to Clavigero, i. 155.

VII Cent. A. D. Harrisse claims that the Basques frequented the American coast, i. 75.

697. Vetia begins Mexican history, i. 155.

VIII Cent. A. D. The Venerable Bede taught the sphericity of the earth, i. 31.

Northmen said to be in Greenland, i. 61.

714. Antillia, or the Island of the Seven Cities, settled from Spain, i. 31.

IX Cent. A. D. The Irish in Iceland, i. 60.

830. The Pirua dynasty fell, in Peru, i. 225.

835. Greenland inhabited, i. 61.

875. The Norse in Iceland, i. 61.

876. Gunnbiorn sees a western land, i. 61.

X Cent. A. D. 983-85. Eric in Greenland, i. 61.

986. Bjarni's voyage S. W. from Greenland, i. 63.

Are Marson finds Huitramannaland, i. 82.

The Totul Xius held to be in Yucatan in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, i. 153.

XI Cent. A. D. End of the Toltec power in Mexico, i. 140.

The Arabs explore the Atlantic in this and the following century, i. 72.

1000. Leif in Vinland, i. 63, 87.

1006. Thorfinn Karlsefne in Vinland, i. 65.

XII Cent. A. D. Edrisi, Arab geographer, i. 72.

Bandelier holds that Mexican tradition stops, i. 155.

The Quiches and Cakchiquels in Guatemala, i. 150.

The Catalans and Basques use the compass, ii. 94.

The Heimskringla and other Sagas first written, i. 84, 91.

1121. A bishop in Vinland, i. 65.

1135. Existing runes on an island in the Baltic attest Norse occupancy, i. 87.

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1153. Indians said to have been thrown on the German coast, i. 26, 74.
1170. Prince Madoc and the Welsh sail westerly, i. 71, 109, 111.
XIII Cent. A. D.—1240. The Inca rule begins in Peru and lasts till 1523, i. 225, 232. Kublai Khan supposed to visit Peru, i. 82.
1267. Roger Bacon completed his *Opus Major* and held to the sphericity of the earth, i. 31; ii. 28.

XIV Cent. A. D. The Codex Flatoyensis and other oldest existing Sagas written, i. 84, 89, 90.
The Basques said to frequent the Newfoundland coast, i. 75.
The Zeni hear of Drogeo and Estotiland, i. 111.
1306. Map of Marino Sanuto, the beginning of Atlantic cartography, i. 53.
1325. Mexico city founded, — the earliest fixed date in ancient Mexican history, i. 133, 144.
1327–78. Madeira discovered between these dates by Machin, ii. 38.
1347. Latest tidings of Vinland, i. 65.
1349. Eskimos appear in Greenland, i. 107.
1351. A Portolano shows the Azores, ii. 38.
Brazil (island) shown in a map, i. 49.
1357. Techotl, a Chichimec ruler, dies, i. 146.
1367–73. Pizigani's maps of the Atlantic, i. 54, 55.
1375. Catalan Mappemonde, i. 55; ii. 38.
1380. The Memorial of Tecpan-Atitlan begins, according to Brinton, i. 167.

XV Cent. A. D. Communication with Greenland ceases, i. 68.
1402. Béthencourt settles the Canaries, ii. 36.
1409. The Latin version of Ptolemy first made, ii. 27.
1410. Pierre d'Ailly's *Ymago Mundi* written, ii. 28, 29; with a map, 95.
1415. The Tepanecs (Mexico) invade Tezcuco, i. 146.
1418–20. Madeira rediscovered by the Portuguese, ii. 38.
1418. Prince Henry's school of nautical observation at Sagres, ii. 40.
1424. Antillia first in maps, i. 49.
1427. The Claudius Clavus map gives the earliest delineation of any part of America (Greenland), i. 117; ii. 28.
1434. The Portuguese push their discoveries down the African coast beyond Cape Bojador, ii. 40.
1435–1456. Columbus born between these dates, ii. 83. Harrisse says about 1445, ii. 89.
1436. Variation of the needle shown on maps, ii. 94.
Andrea Bianco, map of the Atlantic, i. 54, 55; ii. 38, 94.
1439. Valsequa's chart of the Atlantic, ii. 174.
1440–69. Montezuma I. (Mexico), i. 147.
1444. Biscayans said to have discovered Western lands, i. 75.
1447. Antillia rediscovered, i. 31.
A Portuguese ship driven westward to land, i. 75.
1451. *Mar. 9.* Vespucius born, ii. 129.
1455. Sea chart of Bart. Pareto, i. 56.
1457. The Cape of Good Hope prefigured in maps, ii. 41.
1458, *etc.* The maps of Leardo, i. 56.
1459. Fra Mauro's map of the Atlantic, i. 117, 120; ii. 94.
1460. The Cape de Verde islands found, ii. 39.
1461–90. Atlantic charts of the Benincasas, i. 56.
1463–64. Cortereal on the Newfoundland coasts, ii. 33.
The Dutch said to be on the Newfoundland coast, i. 75.
1467. Map discovered by Nordenskjöld shows Greenland, i. 117.
1470. Columbus dreaming of a Western land, ii. 24.
1470–84. Columbus in Portugal, ii. 1, 2.
1470 (?). Nicholas Donis' map (Ptolemy of 1482), — the earliest engraved map to show Greenland, i. 118; ii. 28.
1471. Earliest edition of Pomponius Mela, ii. 28, 180.
1472. Edition of Strabo, ii. 25.
1472–83. The first edition of Pierre d'Ailly falls between these dates, ii. 28.
1473. Leonardo da Vinci said to have written to Columbus respecting a Western passage, ii. 31.
Harrisse's date for Columbus leaving Italy, ii. 90.
Solinus first printed, i. 35.
1474. Columbus corresponds with Toscanelli, i. 51; ii. 2, 30; and sees his map, i. 56; ii. 101, 103.
Bartholomew Las Casas born, ii. 303.
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1763. *Jan.* The English government orders Connecticut to cease colonizing the Wyoming country, vi. 605.

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Feb. 10. Treaty of Paris, by which Spain cedes Florida to England; the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon are confirmed to France; Acadia is confirmed to England, i. 312, 313; v. 58, 156, 359, 418, 471, 614; vi. 14, 27, 685; vii. 2, 3, 10, 83, 171, 543; viii. 28, 32, 78, 131, 290.

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Nov. Gen. Gage succeeds Amherst as commander-in-chief of the English forces in N. America, vi. 702; viii. 463.

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Dec. Patrick Henry argues the Parsons case and questions the king's prerogative, vi. 24.

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June. Col. Bradstreet's campaign along the great Lakes, vi. 698.

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1765. *Feb. 6.* Barré applies the words "Sons of Liberty" to the Amer. patriots, vi. 30, 72.

Mar. 22. Stamp Act, vi. 29, 72.

Apr. The Mutiny Act extended to the English colonies, vi. 38.

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1768. *Feb. 11.* The circular letter to the other colonies written by Samuel Adams of Mass., vi. 42, 78.

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July 4. Dickinson's Liberty Song published, vi. 86.

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June. The burning of the "Gaspee" at Providence, vi. 53, 90.

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1774. *Jan. 31.* Franklin removed from the office of deputy postmaster-general for the colonies, vi. 56.

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May 17. Rhode Island proposes a General Congress, vi. 98.

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May 22. Schuyler confirmed in command of the Northern department, vi. 348.

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July 27. Murder of Jane McCrea, vi. 627.

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1778. *Feb. 3.* Burgoyne's army denied embarcation, and finally, *Jan. 1, 1779*, removed to Virginia, vi. 321.

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Apr. 7. Chatham's last appearance in Parliament, vii. 51.

Apr. 11. Chatham dies, vii. 52.

Apr. Paul Jones on the Scottish coast, vi. 577.

May. Burgoyne defends himself in Parliament, and the recriminatory publications continue for a few years, vi. 365, 366.

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May 12. Steuben enters the American service, vii. 36.

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1778. *June 18.* The British evacuate Philadelphia, vi. 397.

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June 19. Benedict Arnold in Philadelphia, vi. 400.

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June. New York passes a banishment act against the Tories, vii. 201.

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July 7. Congress reassembles in Philad., vi. 401.

July 5. G. R. Clark captures Kaskaskia, vi. 719, with maps, 717, 721; Vincennes and all other British posts in that region, 722.

July 12. Gérard reaches Philad., vi. 401.

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July. Wyoming Valley attacked, vi. 634, 662.

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Aug. 5. D'Estaing enters Narragansett Bay, vi. 593.

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Dec. 21. The memorial of Silas Deane laid before Congress, viii. 444.

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1778. *Dec.* C. W. F. Dumas becomes agent of the United States in Holland, viii. 414.

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Feb. 11. Lafayette reaches Paris, vii. 48.

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Feb. 25. G. R. Clark captures Gov. Hamilton and reoccupies Vincennes, vi. 728.

Feb.–Mar. Congress formulates the conditions of a peace with Great Britain, vii. 89.

Mar. 19. Arnold resigns the command in Philad., vi. 402.

Mar.–July. Struggle in Congress over the fishery demands of France, vii. 54.

April 12. Spain by treaty makes common cause with France against England; but the treaty is kept secret, vii. 54, 55, 85, 170.

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Apr. Massachusetts passes a "Conspiracy Act" against the Tories, vii. 195.

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June. Joseph Galloway examined before Parliament, vii. 202.

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Aug. 29. Sullivan encounters the Indians at Newtown, vi. 640.

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1779. *Sept. 15.* Sullivan begins his return march, and reaches Wyoming *Oct. 7*, vi. 641.

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Col. John Sevier's exped. against the Indians west of North Carolina, vi. 677.

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Agitation in England against the undue influence of the crown, vii. 106.

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American Academy of Arts and Sciences (Boston) founded, i. 437.

Simon De Witt, U. S. geographer, vii. 183.

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Clavigero's *Mexico* published, ii. 425.

1781. *Jan. 3.* England having declared war against Holland, the latter joins the Armed Neutrality, vii. 68.

Jan. Revolt of the Pennsylvania line, vi. 561.

Geo. Rogers Clark with Steuben in Virginia, vi. 732.

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Feb. 20. Robert Morris becomes Superintendent of Finance, vii. 69, 82.

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1781. *May 9.* The Spaniards take Pensacola, vi. 739.

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May 14. Fort Granby surrendered, vi. 490.

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May 21. Conference of Washington and Rochambeau at Weathersfield, Conn., vi. 499, 561.

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Aug. 10. R. R. Livingston the first secretary of foreign affairs (United States), viii. 414.

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Aug. Washington leaves the Hudson, marching south, vi. 500.

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Dec. 31. Bank of North America chartered by Congress; re-chartered by Penna. in 1783, vii 235.

G. R. Clark plans the capture of Detroit, vi. 732.

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1782. *Jan.* Act of Parliament to enable George III to make peace with the United States, vii. 87.

Feb. Benjamin Thomson in New York, an officer of the King's American Dragoons, vii. 197.

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April 6. Shelburne sends Oswald to Franklin, vii. 99.

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Apr. Washington at Newburgh on the Hudson, vi. 744.

Apr. 19. John Adams recognized at The Hague as minister of the United States, vii. 133.

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May 23. The British Cabinet agree to propose American independence, vii. 103.

May. Desperate condition of the revenues of Congress, and movements begin to revise the articles of confederation, vii. 216.

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May and June. Col. William Crawford's campaign against the Wyandots, vi. 736.

June. Shelburne succeeds Rockingham as English Premier, vii. 111.

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June 23. Jay arrives in Paris, vii. 108.

July 11. Savannah evacuated by the British, vi. 507.

Aug. 8–21. La Perouse attacks the Hudson Bay Co.'s forts, viii. 29, 72.

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Sept. 7. Rayneval goes from Paris to London, and Vaughan follows *Sept. 11*, vii. 122.

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Oct. 8. Treaty of the United States with the Netherlands, vii. 87.

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Jan. 20. The American Commissioner in Paris announces that the preliminary treaty does not affect the relations of Great Britain and the United States so long as war exists between England and France, vii. 155.

1783. *Feb. 14.* Coalition of Fox and North, vii. 159.

Feb. 16. Pelatiah Webster's proposition to remodel the government, vii. 217.

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March. Washington and the Armstrong (Newburgh) letters, vi. 745.

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June 27. Parliament votes half-pay to loyalist officers, vii. 196.

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The Commissioners to inquire into the condition of the loyalists report to the Treasury, and publications relative to their proper payment begin, vii. 203.

July. The British Parliament pass the Compensation Act as regards the loyalists, vii. 211.

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Sept. 3. The Definitive Treaty between Gt. Britain and United States signed at Paris, vii. 87, 165.

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Oct. 20. Virginia agreeing to the terms of Congress cedes her claims to territory north of the Ohio, and the deed passes *Mar. 1, 1784*, vii. 528.

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Nov. 25. New York evacuated, vi. 746.

Dec. 4. Washington parts with his officers in N. York, vi. 747.

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Mar. 24. Massachusetts determines to expel dangerous aliens, vii. 218.

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Dr. Belknap begins to publish his *Hist. of New Hampshire*, v. 163.

Benjamin Russell begins the *Massachusetts Centinel* in Boston, known after 1790 as the *Columbian Centinel*, viii. 497.

Francis Asbury consecrated as first Methodist bishop in the United States, viii. 487.

J. F. D. Smyth publishes his *Tour in the United States*, viii. 490.

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1785. *Jan. 21.* Treaty at Fort McIntosh with the Wyandots, etc., vii. 450.

Feb. 25. John Adams appointed minister to England, vii. 233.

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April 19. Massachusetts cedes her western territory, vii. 532.

May 20. Congress passes its first act relative to the disposal of western lands, vii. 533.

May 31. Gov. Bowdoin in Massachusetts seeks to start a movement to revise the articles of confederation, vii. 221.

July 6. The standard of the American dollar established, vii. 70.

July. Gardoqui in Philadelphia as agent of the Spanish government, and Jay's project followed of yielding to Spain the navigation of the Mississippi for twenty-five years, vii. 222, 223.

Sept. 14. Franklin reaches Philad. on his return from Europe, vii. 233.

Nov. 30. Adams, in London, demands the surrender of the frontier posts of the U. S., vii. 234.

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La Perouse begins his voyage round the world, viii. 259.

1785. *Nov. 30.* David Ramsay begins to publish his studies of the Amer. Revolution, i. 59; and produces his completed history in 1789, viii. 472.

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1786. *Jan. 16.* Treaty with the Chickasaws at Hopewell, vii. 447.

Jan. 21. Virginia invites the States to a general conference, vii. 226.

Jan. 31. Treaty with the Shawnees, vii. 450.

Mar. 6. The Ohio Company formed by Putnam, Cutler, and others in Boston, vii. 534.

July 14. Treaty of Spain and England about Yucatan, viii. 263.

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Dec. 16. Massachusetts yields jurisdiction over her lands in New York to that State, vii. 533.

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John Fitch begins his steamboat experiments on the Delaware, while James Ramsey is at the same time experimenting on the Potomac, vii. 536.

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1787. *Feb. 17.* Gen. Malcolm's motion in the N. Y. Assembly, vii. 226.

Feb. 21. Congress agrees with the movement for a convention, vii. 227.

Apr. 13. St. Clair's report on the British infraction of the treaty of 1783, vii. 218.

Apr. 26. Ordinance for the government of the Western Territory reported; and on *July 13* it is adopted, vii. 537–8.

May 14. Constitutional Convention at Philad., vii. 237.

July 5. New York retires from the Federal Convention, vii. 246.

July 18. Treaty with Morocco ratified, vii. 235, 361.

July 24. The committee of details in the Federal Convention begin work, vii. 241.

Aug. 6. Committee of details in the Federal Convention report, vii. 241.

Aug. 9. South Carolina cedes her western lands, vii. 534.

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1789. *Jan.* St. Clair's treaties at Fort Harmar, vii. 450.
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Mar. 4. The Federal Constitution to take effect, vii. 267.
Apr. 6. Washington and Adams declared President and Vice-President, vii. 267.
Apr. 21. John Adams seated as Vice-President.
Apr. 30. Washington inaugurated as President of the United States, vii. 267, 326.
May 10. Jared Sparks, a pioneer among American historians, born, viii. 416.
Aug. 7. The U. S. War Department organized, vii. 357.
Sept. 15. The Department of State made the depository of the Archives of the United States, viii. 413.

1789. *Sept. 29.* Congress establishes a regular army, vii. 357.
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1791. *July 4.* George Buchanan's address on slavery, vii. 325.
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Mar. 27. Congress provides for six frigates, vii. 360.

May. 27. Washington recalls Gouverneur Morris from France, and appoints Monroe, vii. 471.

June 14. Port au Prince captured by the English, viii. 285.

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Dec. 10. Timothy Pickering, Sec. of State, and his communications with Adet continue for some months, vii. 518.

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1796. *Mar. 1.* Proclamation of the ratification of Jay's treaty, vii. 470.

Apr. 30. The House of Representatives agrees to sustain Jay's treaty, vii. 470.

June. Treaty at Colraine between the Creeks and the U. S., vii. 447.

July 4. The Connecticut Western Reserve first occupied, vii. 534.

Treaty with the Cherokees at Holston, vii. 447.

Sept. C. C. Pinckney succeeds Monroe as minister to France, vii. 472.

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1801. *Jan. 2.* Toussaint enters St. Domingo, viii. 285.

Feb. Treaty of France and the United States; the United States surrendering its claims for spoliations for a consideration, thus assuming the obligations to its own citizens, vii. 366, 367.

1801. *Mar. 3.* Peace Establishment Act, vii. 367.

Mar. 4. Jefferson the first President inaugurated in Washington city, vii. 337; begins his first term, vii. 269, 336.

Mar. Ambrosio O'Higgins, Marquis of Osorno, dies, viii. 323.

Gallatin appointed Secretary of the Treasury, vii. 272.

May 14. Tripoli declares war against the United States, vii. 369, 418.

The Bey of Tunis makes demands for ordnance upon the United States, vii. 368.

Perrin du Lac in Louisiana for two years, vii. 550.

1802. *Jan.* The French invade St. Domingo, viii. 285.

Feb. 6. The United States declares war against Tripoli, vii. 370.

Peace of Amiens, viii. 290, 366.

Mar. 16. Congress establishes the Military Academy at West Point, vii. 460.

Aug. Treaty of the U. S. with Spain, but the king withholds his signature, vii. 477, 497.

Ohio admitted, vii. 280, 543.

John Adolphus's tory *History of England* (1760–83) published, viii. 503.

C. C. Robin in Louisiana for four years, vii. 550.

Berquin-Duvallon in Louisiana, vii. 550.

1803. *Apr. 30.* Purchase of Louisiana, — ratified by Napoleon in *May* and by the United States in *Oct.*, vii. 165, 479, 543, 547, 556.

War of England and France, viii. 286.

William Wirt publishes his *Letters of a British Spy*, viii. 492.

Apr. Toussaint dies, viii. 286.

May 12. Convention between Great Britain and the U. S. as to Canadian bounds, subsequently discarded by the United States, vii. 480, 554.

Oct. The U. S. ship "Philadelphia" lost at Tripoli, vii. 371.

Difficulties with Morocco, vii. 420.

Adams-Cunningham correspondence during nine years, vii. 335.

Oct. Treaties with the Indians, and frequently later, vii. 454.

Nov. 19. The French surrender Cape François, viii. 286.

1804. *Feb. 16.* Decatur blows up the "Philadelphia" in Tripoli harbor, vii. 372.

July–Sept. Preble attacks Tripoli, vii. 373.

Territory of Orleans created, vii. 550.

Congress made a customs district in the Mississippi Territory, vii. 546.

The twelfth amendment to the U. S. Constitution adopted, vii. 270.

Expedition of Lewis and Clarke, ending in 1806, vii. 556.

The *Richmond Enquirer* started, viii. 497.

Rufus Putnam's map of Ohio, vii. 544–5.

Futile conferences between Spain and the U. S. as to the bounds of Louisiana, vii. 498.

Marshall's *Life of Washington*, vii. 300; viii. 417.

Sedition Act in Canada, viii. 142, 149.

Highlanders at Prince Edward Island, viii. 147.

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1804. The Carleton (Dorchester) papers, placed in the Royal Institution, become available to students, viii. 462.

1805. *March 4.* Jefferson begins his second term, vii. 273.

June 4. Com. Rodgers concludes a treaty with Tripoli, vii. 375.

Jefferson's gunboat policy, vii. 457.

Gen. Z. M. Pike's expedition to discover the sources of the Mississippi, ending in 1807, vii. 553.

Territory of Michigan created, v. 543.

During this and the two following years Burr makes his visit west, establishes his connection with Blennerhassett, leads the "conspiracy," and has his trial, vii. 338, 339.

Abiel Holmes's *American Annals* first published, viii. 474.

Mercy Warren's *American Revolution* published, viii. 474.

North West Company is formed in Canada as a rival to the Hudson Bay Co., and later it forms a coalition with the X Y Company, viii. 37, 38.

1806. First French newspaper in Canada, viii. 140.

Russians on the California coast, viii. 214.

Oct. 17. Jacques I (Hayti) shot, viii. 287.

The English invade Buenos Ayres, viii. 360.

Capt. William Scoresby attains at that time the greatest northing with a ship, 80° 30′, viii. 129.

Dec. 31. Treaty of the U. S. and Great Britain signed, but rejected by Jefferson, vii. 273, 481, 519.

The Cumberland road legislation lasts for over thirty years, vii. 275.

1807. *Jan.* Cristophe defeats Pétion (Hayti), viii. 287.

Sir Samuel Auchmuty captures Montevideo, but later the English evacuate the country, viii. 361.

Burr's attempted expedition against Mexico, vii. 273.

Selfridge-Austin affair, vii. 318.

"Leopard's" attack on the "Chesapeake," vii. 274, 420, 522

The steamboat. invented vii. 273.

Dec. 22. Embargo Act (U. S.), vii. 274, 482.

An understanding reached by Smith for the U. S. and by Erskine for Great Britain, is not later approved by the British government, vii. 520.

1808. Embargo controversy, vii. 340.

Gallatin's report on neutral rights, vii. 520.

Harrison Gray Otis first suggests a New England combination, vii. 321.

Gen. Wilkinson's alleged treasonable conduct begins about this time, vii. 338.

John Quincy Adams breaks with the Federalists, vii. 320.

The foreign slave trade made illegal by the U. S., vii. 292, 325.

March 7. Joam VI of Portugal arrives at Rio de Janeiro, viii. 324, 357.

1809. *Mar. 1.* Non-intercourse Act as to England and France, vii. 274, 482.

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The Territory of Illinois created, vii. 543.

British attempts to lure New England from its fealty to the Union continue for a few years, vii. 321.

1809. *March 4.* Madison begins his first term, vii. 274, 341.

J. Q. Adams in Russia for four years, vii. 525.

Botta's Italian history of the American War published in Paris, and later (1820) an English version appears in Philadelphia, viii. 507.

1810. Rambouillet Decree, vii. 275.

Apr. The South American revolutions begin in Venezuela, viii. 324.

Dr. Castelli in Upper Peru, viii. 327.

Revolution in Uruguay, viii. 362.

Paraguay declared independent, viii. 360.

Sept. A national government formed in Buenos Ayres, viii. 327.

Sept. 18. Junta de Gobierno at Santiago de Chile, viii. 325.

First Mexican revolution, lasts seven years, viii. 215.

Sept. 28. Guanajuato captured, viii. 217.

Charles J. Ingersoll's *Inchiquin* first published, viii. 492.

The people of West Florida declare their independence, but *Oct. 27*, Madison takes possession of the country, vii. 498, 546.

1811. *Jan. 21.* Calleja enters Guadalajara, viii. 220.

May. Affair of the "Little Belt," vii. 522.

Nov. Reparation made by Great Britain for the attack on the "Chesapeake," vii. 482.

Charter of the Bank of the United States expires, vii. 278.

Clay and the war party in the U. S., vii. 275.

Gen. Harrison's campaign against the Indians, vii. 375.

Nov. 7. Battle of Tippecanoe, vii. 375, 454.

Founding of the American fur trade at Astoria, vii. 558.

The North West Co. builds its first fort on the Columbia, viii. 78.

The Earl of Selkirk receives a grant from the Hudson Bay Company, and in 1812 settles some Scotch Highlanders on it, viii. 39, 78.

Revolutionary movements begin in Peru, viii. 324.

Paraguay independent, viii. 341.

Niles's Register begun at Baltimore. It stops in 1849, viii. 498.

1812. *Feb.* Siege of Cuautla, viii. 221.

June 18. War declared by the United States against Great Britain, vii. 276, 342, 370, 420, 482; viii. 143, 179, 414.

June 23. Gt. Britain revokes her Orders in Council, vii. 276.

Campaigns on the Niagara frontier during the war, vii. 459.

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American privateers during the war, vii. 426.

July. Miranda makes a treaty with the Spanish general, and the Venezuelan Republic fails, viii. 324.

July. The "Constitution" chased by British frigates, vii. 379.

July 12. Gen. Hull invades Canada, vii. 384.

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1812. *Aug. 9.* Battle of Brownstown, vii. 429.
Aug. 16. Hull surrenders Detroit, vii. 384, 429.
Aug. 19. Action of the "Constitution" and "Guerrière," vii. 380, 457.
Sept. 1–12. Siege of Fort Wayne, vii. 430.
Sept. 4. Defence of Fort Harrison on the Wabash, vii. 430.
Sept. 5–8. Attack on Fort Madison on the Mississippi, vii. 430.
Sept. 29. Battle of the Peninsula (Western Reserve), vii. 430.
Oct. 13. Battle of Queenstown, vii. 384, 459; viii. 144.
Oct. Action of the "Wasp" and "Frolic," vii. 380, 457.
Oct. Orizaba taken, viii. 221.
Oct. 25. Action of the "United States" and "Macedonian," vii. 457.
Nov. Com. Chauncy gets command of Lake Ontario, vii. 388.
Nov. Oajaca taken, viii. 221.
Dec. 29. Action of the "Constitution" and "Java," vii. 381, 457.
Louisiana admitted. The region north of the State is known as the District of Louisiana, and becomes a separate territory in 1805, called, after 1812, Missouri Ter., vii. 280, 550.
Columbus, Ohio, founded, vii. 547.
Territory between the Mississippi and Pearl rivers annexed to Louisiana, vii. 498.
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Red River settlement, viii. 75.
American Antiquarian Soc. founded, i. 437.
Carlos Maria de Bustamante's historical works published for the next forty years, ii. 399.

1813. *Jan. 18.* Fight at Frenchtown, and River Raisin massacre, vii. 387, 431; viii. 145.
Feb. 24. Action of the "Hornet" and "Peacock," vii. 381, 457.
Mar. 4. Madison's second term begins, vii. 276.
Mar. Russia offers mediation between Great Britain and the U. S., vii. 483.
Mar. 31. Battle of Yerbas Buenas, viii. 332.
Apr. Acapulco taken, viii. 221.
Apr. 15. Gen. Wilkinson seizes the fort at New Orleans, vii. 498.
Apr. 27. Gen. Pike attacks York (Toronto), vii. 389.
Apr. 28–May 9. Defence of Fort Meigs, vii. 431.
May. Fort George on the Niagara captured by the Americans, vii. 389.
May 29. Sackett's Harbor attacked, vii. 389, 458.
June 1. Action of the "Chesapeake" and "Shannon," vii. 386, 457.
June 12. Madison informs Congress of the repeal of the Berlin and Milan decrees, vii. 522.
May, June. The British fleet in Chesapeake Bay, vii. 386.
May–Aug. British attacks on Forts Meigs and Stephenson, vii. 387.
Aug. 2. Defence of Fort Stephenson, vii. 431.
Aug. 14. Action of the "Argus" and "Pelican," vii. 387, 457.
Aug. 30. Massacre at Fort Mims, vii. 435.
Aug. Dearborn succeeded by Wilkinson in the command of the Lake region, vii. 390.

1813. *Sept.* Action of the "Enterprise" and "Boxer," vii. 387, 458.
Sept. 10. Perry's victory, vii. 392, 432; viii. 146.
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Nov. 3. Fight at Tallushatchie with the Creeks, vii. 436.
Nov. 6. Morelos' party in Mexico proclaim independence, viii. 222.
Nov. 9. Fight with the Creeks at Talladega, vii. 436.
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Nov. 29. Fight with the Indians at Autose, vii. 436.
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Gen. Wilkinson gets possession of Mobile, vii. 546.
Nathan Hale begins the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, viii. 497.
Inquisition abolished in Peru, viii. 324.
Capt. David Porter's cruise in the "Essex" in the Pacific, his ship being destroyed *Mar. 28, 1814*, vii. 395, 434.

1814. *Jan. 22.* Fight with the Creeks at Emuckfau, vii. 436.
Jan. 24. Fight with the Creeks at Enitachopco, vii. 436.
Jan. 27. Jackson defeats the Creeks at Horse Shoe Bend, or Tohopeka, vii. 393, 436.
Jan. 27. Fight with the Creeks at Calabee, vii. 436.
Jan. Morelos at Puruaran, viii. 222.
Mar. British treaty at Montreal with the Indians, viii. 147.
Mar. 13. Affair at La Colle Mill (Canada), vii. 458.
Apr. 29. Action of the "Peacock," vii. 458.
Spring. Izard's northern campaign, vii. 459.
May. Oswego attacked, vii. 347, 459.
June 28. "Wasp" and "Reindeer," vii. 458.
July 5. Battle of the Chippewa, vii. 394, 459.
Gen. Jacob Brown on the Niagara frontier, vii. 393.
July 25. Battle of Lundy's Lane (Bridgewater, or Niagara), vii. 394, 459; viii. 147.
Wilkinson's feeble invasion of Canada, vii. 393.
Aug. 3–Sept. 21. Siege of Fort Erie, vii. 395, 459.
Aug. 10. Treaty with the Creeks at Fort Jackson, vii. 436.
Aug. 19–25. Battle of Bladensburg, and subsequent capture of Washington city, vii. 401–2, 434; viii. 413.
Sept. 1. Action of the "Wasp" and "Avon," vii. 458.
Sept. The British repulsed at Fort McHenry, vii. 403, 435.
Sept. 11. Macdonough's victory on Lake Champlain, and the retreat of the British from Plattsburg, vii. 400, 433.
Sept. The U. S. privateer "Gen. Armstrong" destroyed at Fayal, vii. 501. The claim upon Portugal for damages decided in her favor in 1851.
Oct. 12. Battle of Rancayua (Chile), viii. 326.

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1814. *Oct. 29.* The "Fulton the First" launched, the first steam war-vessel built, vii. 460.

Nov. 4. England offers to negotiate a peace with the U. S., vii. 483.

Dec. 15. Hartford Convention, vii. 252, 277, 321.

Dec. 24. Treaty of Ghent, vii. 176, 278, 486, 523; viii. 147.

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Jackson reinstates the Spaniards in Pensacola, vii. 546.

The Republican party begins to call itself the Democratic party, vii. 278.

Louisiana campaign ending in Jan. 1815, vii. 436.

Francia's rule in Paraguay begins, viii. 360.

British Guiana (Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice) confirmed to the English, viii. 366.

1815. *Jan. 8.* Battle of New Orleans, vii. 404, 437.

Jan. 15. The "President" captured outside New York, vii. 405, 458.

Feb. The "Constitution" takes the "Cyane" and "Levant," vii. 405, 488.

Mar. 23. Action of the "Hornet" and "Penguin," vii. 405, 458.

May. Decatur with a fleet sent against the Algerines and other Barbary powers, vii. 405, 438.

July. Commercial convention of the U. S. with Great Britain, vii. 488.

Bonapartist revolt in Martinique, viii. 290.

Diplomatic relations of Spain and the U. S., which had been suspended for seven years, resumed, vii. 498.

Benjamin Lundy denounces slavery, and continues to do so for twenty-five years, vii. 287.

Revival of interest in Arctic exploration in England, viii. 83, 115.

Dec. Brazil made a part of the United Kingdom of Portugal, Algarves, and Brazil, viii. 324, 357.

1816. *Apr.* The second Bank of the United States created, vii. 277.

Mar. 24. Buenos Ayres declared independent, viii. 361.

July 9. Independence of the Argentine Republic proclaimed, viii. 332.

Gen. Wilkinson's *Memoirs* published, the earliest purely military account of the Revolution, viii. 480.

Congress imposes an *ad valorem* duty on woollen and cotton imports; confirmed or extended in 1819, 1824, 1826, 1828, vii. 278.

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1817. *Jan. 17.* San Martin begins his march across the Andes, viii. 330.

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March 4. Monroe's first term as President of the United States begins, vii. 279, 344.

Mar. 8. The Territory of Alabama created, vii. 546.

1817. *Apr. 28.* Agreement between Great Britain and the U. S. as to naval forces on the lakes, vii. 489.

Nov. 24. The islands in Passamaquoddy Bay confirmed to Gt. Britain, vii. 177.

Col. Mina's expedition into Mexico, viii. 269.

Dec. 6. Battle of Talcahuano, viii. 332.

Dec. 10. Mississippi admitted, vii. 280, 546.

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1818. *Feb. 13.* Independence of Chile proclaimed, viii. 331.

Mar. Petion dies (Hayti), viii. 287.

Mar. 31. Battle of Yerbas Buenas, viii. 332.

Apr. 5. Battle of Maypu (Chile), viii. 331, 332.

July 9. The king of Spain ratifies the Convention of 1802, vii. 498.

Aug. 18. Convention between Great Britain and the United States, vii. 490, 554; viii. 167.

New survey of the U. S. boundary at Rouse's Point, vii. 179.

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1819. *Feb. 22.* Treaty between the U. S. and Spain as to the Florida and other bounds, and the Spanish king ratifies it *Oct. 24*, 1820, vii. 499, 500, 524, 546, 550, 558, 559.

Territory of Arkansaw created, vii. 550.

Alabama admitted, vii. 280, 546.

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Aug. 7. Bolivar victor at Boyaca, viii. 334.

An English legion leads the Venezuelans, viii. 334.

Dec. Venezuela and New Grenada united as Colombia, viii. 335.

Robt. Walsh's *Appeal from the Judgment of Great Britain* published, viii. 493.

Dr. S. F. Jarvis the earliest to consider the myths of the Indians, i. 429.

Maj. S. H. Long's expedition to the "Great American Desert," vii. 558, 559.

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Apr. News of Ferdinand VIIth's adhesion to the Spanish constitution reaches Mexico, viii. 224.

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Oct. 2. Webster's speech for incidental protection, vii. 325.

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Oct. Emperor Cristophe assassinated (Hayti), viii. 287.

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1821. Revolution in Spain, viii. 358.
Jan. 29. Viceroy Pezuela deposed in Peru, viii. 329.
March 4. Monroe's second term, and the "Era of Good Feeling" begins, vii. 279, 344.
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July 28. Peru declared independent, viii. 334.
Sept. Iturbide enters Mexico, viii. 225; his proclamation at Iguala, 225.
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May 4. The Congress of U. S. refers to the struggling colonies of Spain as "independent," vii. 501.
June 16. Bolivar enters Quito, viii. 335.
June 18. The U. S. boundary line along the great Lakes determined, vii. 554.
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Aug. South American patriots defeated at Zepita, viii. 336.
Sept. 1. Bolivar enters Lima, viii. 336.
Nov. National Assembly of Mexico, viii. 227; and Guadalupe Victoria chosen first president of the United States of Mexico, viii. 227.
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Slavery struggle in Illinois begins, vii. 325.
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Gallatin begins his studies of the American Indians, i. 424.
1824. *Mar. 2.* Callao Castle surrendered to the Spaniards, viii. 336.
Mar. 13. Convention on the subject of the slave trade between Great Britain and the U. S.; but it is not ratified, vii. 492.
Mar. 25. Constitution of Brazil adopted, viii. 341, 358.
Apr. 5–17. Russia and the United States agree that the line 54° 40′ shall divide their settlements, vii. 510, 559.
1824. *Aug. 6.* Battle of Junin, viii. 336.
Oct. 3. Treaty of the U. S. with Colombia, vii. 504.
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Navarrete publishes his *Colecçion*, ii. p. v.
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June. The Panama Congress, vii. 503.
July 4. John Adams and Thomas Jefferson die, vii. 307.
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1827. *Aug. 8.* The U. S. and Great Britain agree to extend the agreement as to the Oregon bounds, vii. 492, 559.
Sparks announces his preparation of the life and letters of Washington, which are published 1833–37, viii. 417.
Treaty of the U. S. with the Hanseatic republics, vii. 504.
James Grahame begins the publication of his *Hist. of the Rise and Progress of the United States*, v. 620.
Irving publishes his *Columbus*, ii. p. vi.
Mexico declines to sell Texas to the U. S., vii. 550.
1828. High protective tariff of the U. S., vii. 286.
Aug. 27. Uruguay independent, viii. 341.
Dec. Calhoun's exposition of state sovereignty passed by the South Carolina legislature, vii. 286.
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Graah's explorations of the Greenland coasts begin, i. 109.
Timothy Pitkin's *United States*, the first political history of the United States, viii. 475.
Hutchinson's third volume of his *Massachusetts* published in London, viii. 469.
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1828. *Dec.* The Beothuks of Newfoundland become extinct, i. 321.

1829. Spain sends a fleet against Mexico, viii. 228.

March 4. Jackson's administration (U. S.) begins, vii. 283, 348.

Aug. 31. Peru adopts a democratic constitution, viii. 339.

Clay becomes leader of his party, vii. 281.

William Lloyd Garrison founds American abolitionism, vii. 287.

Dec. 8. Jackson's message against the U. S. Bank, vii. 351.

Sahagún's narrative first published by Bustamante, ii. 416.

John Ross's first Arctic voyage (to 1833), during which the position of the magnetic pole is discovered and his ships are abandoned, viii. 88, 89, 119.

1830. *Feb.* Hayne and Webster debate in the U. S. Senate, vii. 254, 263, 286.

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Alaman's history of Mexico ends, viii. 268.

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Dec. 17. Simon Bolivar dies, viii. 339.

Sparks begins his *American Biography*, viii. 475.

Kingsborough's *Antiquities of Mexico* published (up to 1848), i. 203.

Aubin on Mexico, i. 160.

1831. *Jan. 10.* The king of Netherlands' award in the U. S. boundary controversy, vii. 177.

Apr. 7. Dom Pedro I (Brazil) abdicates, and Dom Pedro II succeeds, viii. 341, 358.

July 4. Treaty of France and the U. S. making reciprocal reparations. The French refusing to comply, diplomatic relations suspended, and in 1863 payment is made by France, vii. 287, 496–7.

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Garrison begins *The Liberator*, vii. 287.

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1832. *July 10.* Jackson vetoes the recharter of the Bank of the U. S., vii. 284.

Nov. 19. South Carolina nullification ordinance, vii. 286.

Dec. 11. Jackson's nullification proclamation, vii. 286.

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Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes* published, i. 376.

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C. R. Markham begins his publication of his Peruvian studies, ii. 578.

The English *Calendar of State Papers* begun, viii. 459.

E. G. Squier publishes his Nicaragua researches, i. 197.

Geo. Tucker's *United States* published, one of the earliest sustained Southern views of the U. S. history, viii. 480.

1857. Parliamentary inquiry into the affairs of the Hudson Bay Co., viii. 53.

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1865. Faillon begins his record of the Sulpitian labors in Montreal in his *Colonie Française en Canada*, iv. 360.

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Life and Public Services of Samuel Adams published, viii. 428.

1866. Jomard's *Monuments de la géographie*, iii. 217.

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Lossing publishes his *Pictorial Field-book of the War of 1812*, viii. 480.

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1877. The *Cartas de Indias* published, ii. p. viii.

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GENERAL INDEX.

*** This index, as respects the present volume, is itemized as the indexes of the previous volumes have been; but it is also comprehensive and grouped as respects the entire work. In the more general parts of it the names of persons, places, events, etc., are grouped under comprehensive heads, instead of being placed in their alphabetical position, in order to show by such grouping the scope of the work in its main phases. In such cases a volume number only is often given, so that the index of the volume thus referred to must be consulted for details and pages. For a large number of minor entries the separate indexes must also be used, since these entries are not repeated in the present index.

In this and previous indexes the titles of works cited have been italicized, so that the sources of the work can be picked out by this distinction of type. If more than a single reference is given to a book, it is because something distinctive about the book is presented. No attempt has been made to record all references to any book.

The principal comprehensive headings employed, *beside those of countries*, are AMERICANA, ARCHÆOLOGY, DISCOVERERS, FORTS, INDIANS, LAKES, MAPS, MILITARY EVENTS, NAVIGATION, OCEANS, PERIODICALS, PORTRAITS, PORTRAITISTS, RELIGIOUS BODIES, RIVERS, SOCIETIES, TREATIES. The greatest subdivision is under UNITED STATES.

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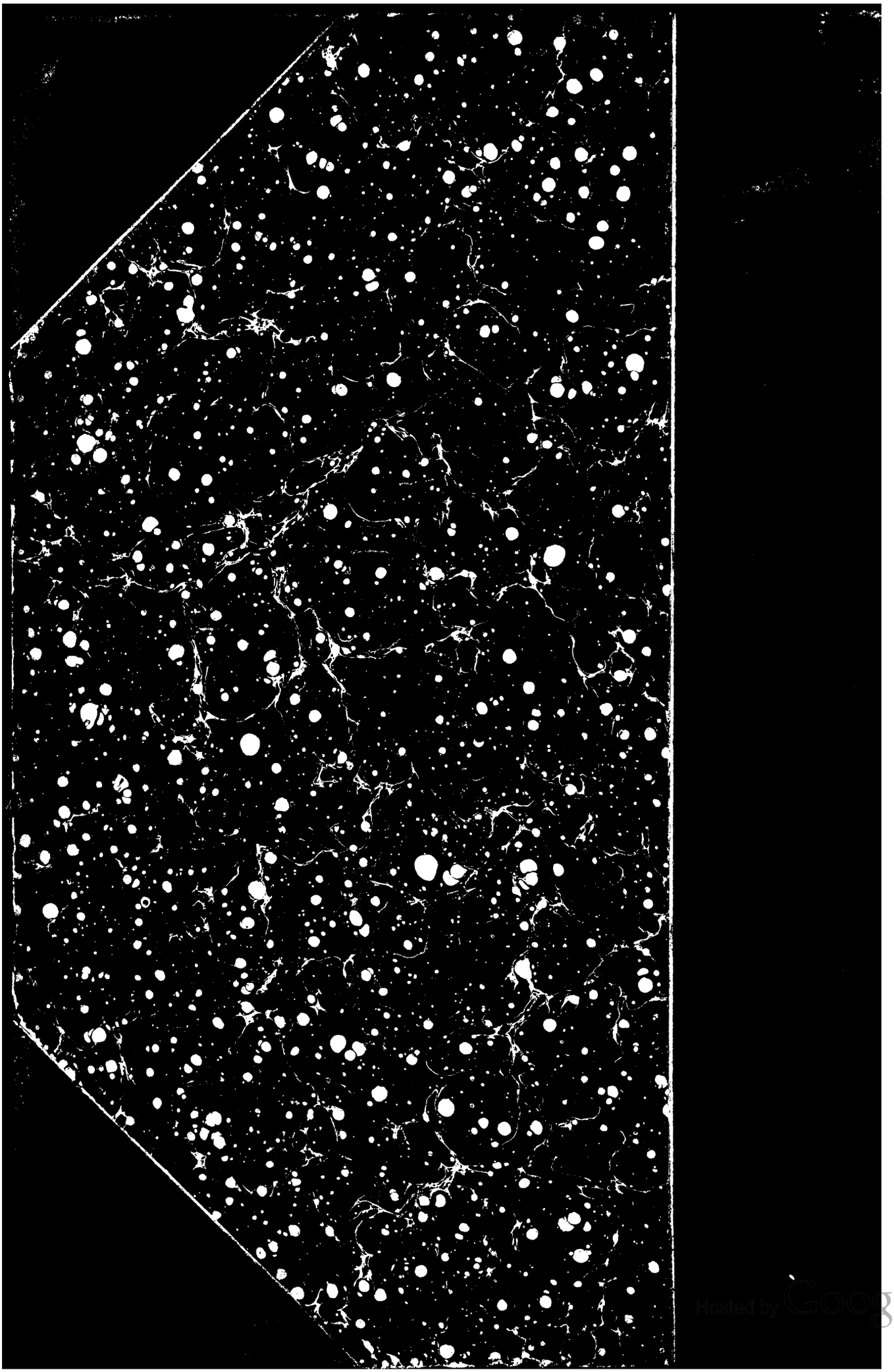

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